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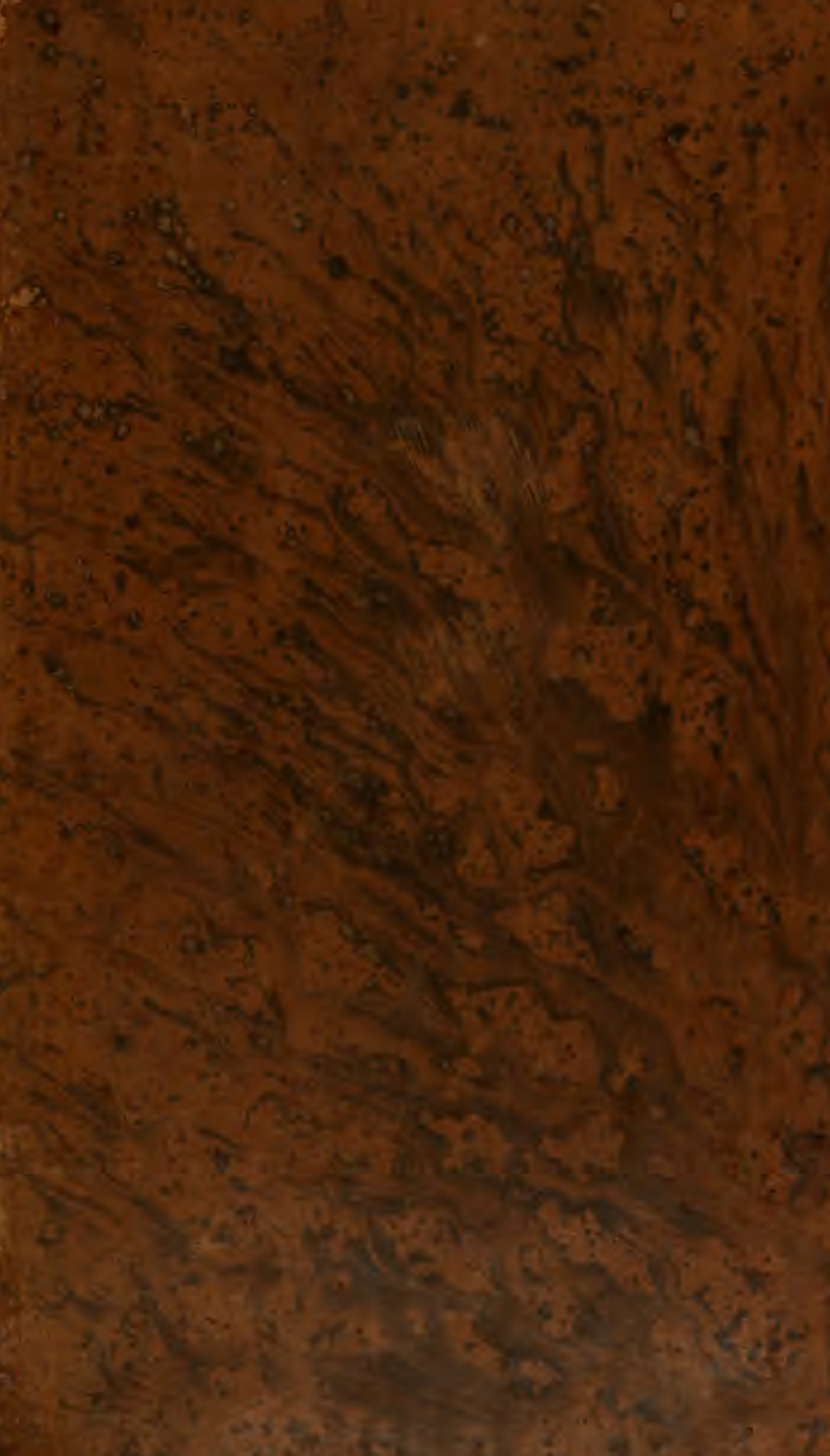
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**A N
A N S W E R**

TO THE

REV. MR. CLARKSON'S ESSAY, &c.

[Price FIVE SHILLINGS.]



A N S W E R
TO THE
REV. MR. CLARKSON'S ESSAY

ON THE
Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,
particularly the AFRICAN;
IN A SERIES OF LETTERS,
FROM A GENTLEMAN IN JAMAICA, TO HIS FRIEND
IN LONDON:

WHEREIN
Many of the Mistakes and Misrepresentations of
Mr. CLARKSON are pointed out,

BOTH WITH REGARD TO
The Manner in which that Commerce is carried on in AFRICA,

AND
The Treatment of the Slaves in the WEST INDIES.

SHewing, AT THE SAME TIME,
The Antiquity, Universality, and Lawfulness of Slavery, as
as ever having been one of the States and Conditions of
Mankind.

By G. FRANCKLYN, Esq.

Τί ἐστὶ τὸ ποιῆν ἀκωλύτον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀντιξυσίον, Πλὴτ' ὅ γὰρ ἡ ποίη,
καὶ ὑπατία, καὶ ἐπαρχία, καὶ βασιλεία.

Epiß. Lib. iii.

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M.DCC.LXXXIX.

SECRET

[illegible]

P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following Letters first wrote and published, in Jamaica, some Observations on the Treatment of Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies in the West Indies; wherein he occasionally took notice of a letter, full of misrepresentations and exaggerations, written by the Dean of Middleham, to Mr. Hoare, the Treasurer of the Society in the Old Jewry. Soon after writing the Observations before mentioned, the friend, at whose instigation they were written, desired his opinion of Mr. Clarkson's Essay on Slavery and the Slave Trade. The Author, having much leisure at that time, was induced to make a more exact scrutiny into the nature of that traffic, and the manner in which it is carried on in Africa; and the letters which are here offered to the public were written with intent to place in a proper point of view the attempts made

to misrepresent the conduct of the merchants trading to Africa, in like manner as the former observations were to shew the situation of the slaves in the West Indies; and the Author has endeavoured also to give a view of the history of slavery, which Mr. Clarkson has mocked his readers with the promise of.

If what is said in the following sheets (which were actually written in Jamaica at the time they bear date) shall tend to shew the good and worthy man, who really apprehends that it would be serving the cause of general humanity, if the slave trade was abolished, not only that such abolition cannot be effected by any thing which can be done in this country—that, even if it could be put a stop to, it would, in all probability, be productive of the same scenes of slaughter and horror,—of the same impious sacrifices, and diabolical rites, which were heretofore so common in Africa—the Author will think himself amply rewarded for his pains.

At the time these letters were written, the Author had seen none of the many pamphlets

pamphlets which have been so industriously circulated through the kingdom. They seem all to contain nearly the same accusations, and appear to be written by those who shew themselves as ignorant of the subject they have written on, as those they pretend to instruct. Many of these writers assuredly act against their better knowledge, and endeavour to raise a clamour, in hopes to be taken notice of, as champions in the cause of humanity and religion, thereby to obtain the favour of the good and virtuous, those *academical honours*, and that preferment, which would not fall to their share, if they were only to be bestowed on superior abilities, learning, or piety. Some gentlemen, who join in the present attempt, are influenced by the best motives; but it is not probable that they are acquainted with the views of many of the persons who act with them.

The story of Elizabeth Canning and Squires the Gipsy is yet fresh in our memories. The same pretences of a desire to protect and avenge suffering innocence, the same profession of regard for the cause of

humanity and religion, were made by the partizans of Canning, that are now held forth by Messrs. Sharpe, Hoare, Ramsay, Clarkson, Nicholls, and others of the Society in the Old Jewry. They acted in the same manner with the present Associates. They subscribed, they solicited, and they advertised—(I do not remember if they preached)—they travelled far and near, in order to collect evidence to prove the most contradictory, ridiculous, and absurd tales that folly and enthusiasm could invent, or credulity listen to. The consequence was, a number of people presented themselves to testify whatever was required of them; the most shameful and horrid perjuries were daily committed. At the time of the publication of Mr. Clarkson's first edition of his Essay, which is what the Author has replied to, but few people had appeared to declare *upon oath* the truth of the tales of cruelty and woe which have been picked up or invented by those who have travelled up and down, in different disguises, for that purpose. Among others, who are charged with such misbehaviour, is the Reverend

verend Author animadverted upon in the following letters, who, in the different masks of an African sailor and pettifogging attorney, is said to have visited the alehouses and brothels of Liverpool, to find out witnesses to the enormities committed by the masters of Guinea ships.

There is great reason to suppose he was ~~the certain person~~ totally unconnected with the law, to whom the sixty-three applications were made in one day to obtain redress for the pretended cruelties experienced by the seamen of the African ships, from the fury of their respective officers, mentioned in his late publication on the impolicy of the African slave trade. One of these instances, confirmed by oath, he informs us, has been acknowledged by the perpetrator of it, by the payment of a fine. Is it to be wondered at, that, among so many ~~who~~ are charged on oath (*oaths procured by such means*), with the commission of such murders and horrid cruelties, one man should be found who should rather chuse to pay a small sum of money, than submit to the trouble of a civil action for beating a sea-
man?

man?—to say nothing of the unavoidable expence which always must attend those kind of suits, carried on, for the most part, by those pests of society called *Wapping Solicitors*; because, when such actions are defended, the plaintiff generally runs away, or is nonsuited, and the defendant has his own costs to pay. Can gentlemen reflect without regret, and even horror, on the manner their *subscriptions* may have been employed, in order to induce persons to bear false witness against their neighbours?

These transactions will, no doubt, be placed in their proper point of view, by the gentlemen of Liverpool, who cannot be at a loss to make us acquainted with the sort of men whose testimony has been so procured, who will probably not be more worthy of credit, than that of discarded surgeons, or *quondam* masters of Guineamen, who have not blushed to publish their own turpitude, by way (it must be supposed) of inducing people to believe the conduct of others in the same station is similar to their own.

The

The defence of the masters, and other officers of the Guinea ships, is also left to the same gentlemen, who will, doubtless, be able to shew they do not trust their fortunes and their fame in the hands of miscreants accustomed to commit such horrid cruelties and murders as are charged upon them by Mr. Clarkson, from accounts received from drunken sailors, in brothels and alehouses, who are, as Mr. Clarkson styles them, surely men of equally *undoubted veracity and disinterestedness*. Had Mr. Clarkson dared to publish the names of the masters of the ships who he thus shamefully charges with the most atrocious crimes, there would have been an opportunity of having the matter investigated in a court of judicature, and the truth or falsity of the accusation ascertained.

On those gentlemen will devolve the task of pointing out the mistakes and exaggerations respecting the loss of *seamen* in the African voyages. The Author of the following Letters has neither time or leisure, nor is he intimately versed enough in the subject to attempt it. He is, however, suf-

— sufficiently acquainted with commerce in general, to know, that the trade of Africa, at present the object of our consideration, is so intimately connected with that of the East and West Indies, Greenland, Petersburg, and Newfoundland, that whatever may, in any degree, affect the former, will have a proportionable influence on all the others. How far the revenue of this country may be affected, or how far the imports of sugar and rum may be lessened, by the carrying into execution the plan suggested by the crude and visionary projects of men, whose professional duties, if attended to, would leave them little leisure to investigate the *minutiae* of commercial transactions, is an experiment which it is hardly to be supposed will be made by the Minister who so ably presides over the department of the finances of this kingdom. The duties on these two articles only are known to amount to more than 1,500,000*l.* *per ann.* and are pledged to the public creditors for their *security*.

These considerations, the Author doubts not, will be impressed on the public attention.

tion at a proper time and place, in a much
 able manner than his leisure or information
 will enable him to do here. He hopes,
 however, his feeble efforts may not be un-
 useful, in opposing, to the incongruity and
 inconsistency of two of the persons who have
 written against the sugar planter and Afri-
 can merchant, the manner in which slaves
 are created in the West Indies, the antiqui-
 ty and universality of slavery, the impossi-
 bility of preventing it, or even that branch
 of it, the purchase of Negroes upon the
 coast of Africa, which other nations are
 ready to save us both the disgrace and
 trouble of; as a proof of which, he has
 annexed, by way of Appendix, the Arrêt
 of the Council of State, published in France
 on the 10th day of September, 1786, which
 was as soon as any hopes could be enter-
 tained there, that this country would think
 seriously of abolishing a branch of com-
 merce of such great national importance;
 and also a translation of the *Cedula Real*,
 published at Madrid, to invite and encou-
 rage the merchants of all nations to carry
 Negroes to their settlements in America.

One

One other circumstance ought also to be mentioned, of which the fullest proof is ready to be produced (if necessary), viz. that some of the very persons who are promoting the present design of the abolition, are concerned in transferring the same trade to France, and in inviting the merchants of this country to carry it on from the ports of that kingdom, in the ships of Liverpool and Bristol. Can it be supposed British merchants will not remove themselves and their capitals to France; to augment the commerce of that kingdom, and increase the culture of her colonies, when, as French subjects, they may be entitled to the very enormous bounties and premiums given by France for the encouragement of this traffic?

The eagerness other nations (who possess colonies in the tropical parts of America) shew to profit by our mistakes, proves the absolute impracticability of the present attempt to abolish the slave trade, even should it be inconsistent with Christianity, as some people have thought proper to represent it. The opinion, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign

reign Parts, held to the contrary, when the pious and venerable Dr. Secker, then Archbishop of Canterbury, was President, is well known by the late publication of a copy of the letter of 6th February 1766, written by the Secretary of the Society, to Mr. Benezet at Philadelphia. We do not hear that the opinion of that corporation is changed at present* ; and it may further serve to quiet the scruples any religious men may have had raised in their minds on account of such commerce, to be informed, that, on the like question, respecting the lawfulness of it, being agitated in France, upwards of one hundred and fifty years ago, it was decreed by two Protestant Synods, the one held at Rouen, and the other at Alençon, in the year 1637, “ That
 “ slavery hath always been acknowledged
 “ to be consistent with the law of nations,
 “ is not condemned by the word of God,
 “ neither has it been abolished by the manifestation of the gospel, but only, by
 “ a

* *Vide* the Sermon preached before the Society on Tuesday, the 20th February last, by the Right Reverend the Bishop of Gloucester, P. 29, 30.

“ a contrary practice, insensibly introduced.”

To conclude—If the present plan could be executed, what advantage would result from it? It does not appear there would be a less number of slaves brought from the coast. Other nations would still carry on the trade, assisted by the capitals of British merchants ; so that, however we may be blamed for participating in this commerce, we may say, in the words of a very able French writer upon this subject—“ Nous devons d’abord partager ce reproche avec tous les peuples de l’Europe, qui ont des possessions en Amérique ; car, si nous renoncions à la traite des noirs, ils n’y renonceroient pas. Ils remplaceroient par une augmentation de culture, le dépérissement de la nôtre ; ainsi il y auroit sur le globe la même somme d’esclaves l’humanité n’y gagneroit rien.”—*Monf. de Malouet, De l’Eslavage des Negres*, p. 23.

* * The Reader is desired to take notice, that the quotations from Mr. Clarkson’s Essay are entirely from the First Edition—the Author having never seen or known of the Second, until the following Letters were mostly printed.

AN

A N

A N S W E R

TO THE

REV. MR. CLARKSON'S ESSAY, &c.

LETTER I.

Jamaica, October 1st, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

YOU ask my opinion on the present question regarding the Slave Trade, and whether the manner in which it is carried on, or in which the Negroes in the West-Indies are treated, can be such as represented by the now Reverend Author of *An Essay on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, sometime since published in England; a Tract which I never saw till the receipt of your letter, and which I obtained the perusal of with difficulty, as it was not, till after diligent enquiry, I could hear of a single copy of it, in this Island, which, by chance, I found in the hands of your friend——, who was so obliging as to lend it me. I mention this circumstance to shew you, that, although Mr. Clarkson has been indefatigable in distributing his

B

accusations

W A

accusations among such people, throughout England, as he knew were totally unacquainted with the subject, yet, that he did not think proper to supply the accused with copies of their indictment; so that mere accident has given me an opportunity to plead to it. It may be asked, Why did not gentlemen, connected with the West Indies, send copies of this Essay to their friends? I answer, that I doubt not Mr. Clarkson's treatise was considered by them as merely an academical exercise, no more deserving an answer, and as equally a fable, as the Tragedy of Oronooko, the Royal Slave, or the play of Inkle and Yarico; both which, I doubt not, you will have had repeatedly acted, to influence the minds of people whom he, and others, have endeavoured to impose upon. The disregard which has been shewn by the West India gentlemen to the calumnies which malice and envy have occasioned to be so frequently disseminated by ignorant and bad men, persons of candour would consider as presumptive proof of their conscious innocence.

In calling upon me to give you my opinion upon this subject, you put me upon a service of danger. The abuse so liberally bestowed on the West Indians, has been now so long and so often repeated, that many persons, in Britain, believe it to be well founded. He who is hardy enough to oppose a popular and prevailing opinion,

nion,

nion, has little chance of obtaining a favourable hearing, especially if such opinion should be entertained by men of worth and virtue. I shall not, however, shrink from the task you have imposed on me, but endeavour to give you, and all good and unprejudiced men, such reasonable satisfaction, with respect to the subject under consideration, as my long and intimate knowledge of, and acquaintance with, the Sugar Colonies, may, in some measure, enable me to do. I own myself not personally conversant in the manner in which the trade of Africa is carried on, nor the treatment the slaves receive in their voyage; but I have been so diligent in my enquiries and researches respecting it, that, even if sufficient for my purpose, was not to be found in the very authorities quoted by Mr. Clarkson, and the other accusers of the African Merchants, I flatter myself, enough will appear to convince you, that most of the charges against them have very little better grounds than those against the Planters.

When it is considered how very few years since the preservation and improvement of the trade to Africa, was regarded as a matter of the utmost importance to the British commerce, and that it has been repeatedly declared so by different parliaments, which have annually voted large sums of money for its encouragement, it surely must seem rather extraordinary, that the public

opinion should, in a moment, be so entirely changed, and an attempt be countenanced to abolish a commerce, which was heretofore so sedulously protected; and this, too, at a time when the other commercial nations, in Europe, are exerting themselves to the utmost to obtain a greater share in it than heretofore *. France, in particular, even in the present disordered situation of her finances, seems to have taken advantage of the strange conduct of people in this country, and has thought proper to offer such premiums to her merchants, to apply themselves with more energy to that traffic, as would hardly be expected from a nation whose treasury overflowed with wealth. By an arret of council, dated 10th September, 1786, as soon as the consequences of the clamour in Great Britain would be suspected, exclusive of 40 livres a ton to each vessel fitted out in France, a premium of 160 livres a head, was given for all Negroes, big or little, imported in French ships to Martinique and the French West India Islands; and 200 livres for those imported into the port of Cayes, in St. Domingo, from Africa, in French ships. What may be the consequences may easily be foreseen. The nation need not take any steps to abolish the African Trade, it will be unable to withstand the present conduct of France. Our merchants are invited to fit out their ships from that country in a manner

* Vide Appendix.

manner not to be resisted. Can such a change in our councils, such infatuation, be imputed to the pamphlets, and other writings, of a few obscure and ill-informed scribblers, whose situations render it impossible they should have any personal or competent knowledge of the subject they write on with so much confidence, and who, under the specious pretence of tender anxiety in the cause of humanity, have imposed upon the credulity of the good and virtuous, to credit accounts which even a slight examination will prove to be absolutely false and groundless? Faction, or perhaps interested persons, have joined in endeavouring to halloo the mob against a commerce of the greatest utility to Britain; and, perhaps, before the fury, which, it seems, there is an attempt to excite against the Traders to Africa, shall subside, this branch of commerce may be lost: nor shall I wonder if the same conflagrations may take place in Liverpool and Bristol, as were experienced in London, under a pretended zeal for the Protestant religion, in 1780.

Silent contempt has too long been considered, by the Planters, as the only treatment merited by the authors of the paragraphs, hand-bills, newspapers, and pamphlets, in which they have of late been abused. They conceived, and they thought, with reason, that the terms of reproach and obloquy, which bigotry alone could furnish,

and which, with an equal degree of illiberality and ignorance, have been employed in describing the treatment of the Negroes in the West Indies, would have been disregarded or despised by every man of discernment; and that the inventors and propagators of such idle and malicious stories, would have been confounded and abashed, and have sunk into oblivion.

It has been found, however, that fanaticism and hypocrisy are not so easily silenced. A pretended zeal for the sacred interests of humanity and religion, is apt to impose on those who really are impelled, by principles of charity and benevolence, to wish an increase of happiness to every individual of their fellow creatures. Such persons have a just claim to our attention and regard. Their very prejudices ought to be respected; and nothing should be omitted to convince them of the falsity and absurdity of the accusations brought against the Sugar Planters.

Mr. Tobin, a gentleman resident in England, but a native of the island of Nevis, appears to have been the first person who judged it proper to employ his pen in defence of his countrymen and friends, whom he conceived to be injured by the misrepresentations of the Reverend Mr. Ramsay; this he did most effectually, by a plain and faithful narrative of the general treatment which slaves receive in Nevis, St. Kitt's, and the neighbouring
British

British Islands. This account, conceived in language equally manly, moderate, and decent, (the truth of which, I am sure, will be attested by every gentleman conversant with those islands,) has, it seems, raised the sympathetic anger of Mr. Clarkson; because Mr. Tobin, in an appendix to his pamphlet, has dared to inform the public that the gentlemen of St. Christopher's, who found themselves attacked by Mr. Ramsay, should dare to retort upon that gentleman, and, in defence of themselves, endeavour to shew that his representation of them and their conduct, was not to be depended upon in points of fact. Mr. Clarkson, therefore, threatens to hand down Mr. Tobin's name to posterity with detestation, as an example to future authors, how they presume to offer exceptions against the evidence of those who accuse them, or their friends, whose defence they undertake. Every one, however, knows such exceptions to the credibility of a witness's testimony, are every day received in British courts of judicature; and I cannot think Mr. Tobin's friends are greatly alarmed at Mr. Clarkson's menaces; nor can they conceive that he has a right to object to Mr. Tobin's opposing to Mr. Ramsay's testimony against the gentlemen of St. Kitt's, who were intimately acquainted with Mr. Ramsay's personal character and conduct, any thing advanced by them, to shew his account was not

implicitly to be confided in. I believe you will agree with me, that Mr. Tobin is perfectly justified in having given the sentiments of these gentlemen to the world ; because, if what they have said of Mr. Ramsay be true, it will prove that he was not possessed of humanity enough to make him anxious about the treatment of other people's negroes, nor of religious zeal sufficient to make him so very anxious, as he pretends to be, about their conversion.

If the charges, brought by the gentlemen of St. Kitt's, are false, the recrimination, or misrepresentation, (if it be such,) does not spring from Mr. Tobin. He is not the least accountable for it ; neither has he any reason to be apprehensive of Mr. Clarkson's threatened efforts to injure his reputation, which will be as harmless as those of the animal whose fangs and venom were equally incapable of injuring the object of its resentment. All those about whose good opinion Mr. Tobin ought to be solicitous, are convinced of his veracity, and will acknowledge his merit ; and the gentlemen of the West Indies will consider themselves obliged to him for having so effectually justified them from the misrepresentations and invectives of one of their accusers.

Mr. Clarkson may have well grounded reasons to object to an author's private character being attacked. He may be right in blaming such conduct

duct in all cases where the want of integrity in the author has nothing to do with the subject of his writings; but surely he can have no right to be displeased at any objection made to his testimony by the person accused, if he himself takes upon him to assume the character of an accuser. Can Mr. Clarkson particularly have any reason to oppose such an objection being made to himself, as having an interest in the matter under consideration, when he declares his disregard to any defence made by merchants, planters, &c. because they are the accused parties? Can Mr. Clarkson wonder if it should be conceived by others, that the same exception should be made against the evidence of the accusers, if they may be supposed to write in hopes of academical honours, public applause, or church preferment, or be actuated by a spirit of resentment? May not the testimony of such gentlemen be considered as equally liable to be biassed as those of a clergyman, whose evidence Mr. Clarkson rejects, because he is chaplain to a factory on the coast of Africa?

Whatever force there may be in any of their objections, they surely can only affect the credibility, not the competency of such witnesses: and where a plain, simple narrative of facts is given, which agrees in all essential particulars, with similar ones, given by different persons, at different times, who have not the least communication one with

with the other, it is not in the power of the hearer to refuse his assent, however interested the relater may be. On the other hand, however high the reputation of any man may stand, however disinterested he may be supposed to be, if his account be improbable, contradictory, or absurd, persons most favourably inclined towards him, will, at the best, suppose he has been mistaken or imposed upon. They cannot credit an absurd, ridiculous, and inconsistent tale, should it be told by those of whom they have the highest opinion.

That Mr. Clarkson's *Essay* abounds with such improbabilities and contradictions, will most clearly appear to every one, conversant with the subject, upon reading it with attention; and perhaps I cannot answer your questions more satisfactorily, than by my remarks on that gentleman's performance, and pointing out some of the falsities and inconsistencies it contains. Altho, in the letters I purpose to write to you, I shall not barely confine myself to the animadverting upon his *Essay*, but endeavour also to shew, that slavery is not only lawful, but that it ever was, still is, and ever will be, the lot of the greater part of mankind; and not of the poor only, but of those whose pride makes them consider themselves persons of very great importance.

I may,

I may, perhaps, be exclaimed against as an advocate for tyranny and slavery ; but surely with very little justice. I plead not for the right of the master to *oppress* the servant, or the rich the poor ; on the contrary, I solemnly declare, I should rejoice, if I could see such laws enforced, as would compel every master of servants, or possessor of slaves, of every denomination, to treat them, and behave towards them, as they ought to do ; who know “ *they also have a master in heaven.* ” I do no more than, as a plain matter of fact, assert, that such a state, or condition, of man, is actually existing : and as well might the ambassador or consul at Constantinople or Smyrna, be considered as the advocate of the pestilence, when either of them sends an account of its having made its appearance at either of those places. Such accounts may put people in health upon their guard against the contagion. The knowledge of the existence of the disorder, may lead persons, in danger of the attack, to seek a remedy to avoid it, or palliate its violence ; or, if actually seized with it, to support themselves under it with less anxiety, from knowing they had taken every proper previous step to promote their recovery.

To justify my assertion, that slavery has been, and, from the nature of man, must ever be, a very common and general situation of life, I beg leave

leave to shelter myself under the authority of
 Cicero, who says, " *Laudetur vero hic imperator,*
 " *aut etiam appelletur aut hoc nomine dignus*
 " *pute ur quomodo : aut cui tandem hic libero*
 " *imperabit, qui non potest cupiditatibus suis*
 " *imperare ? Refrenet primum libidines, sper-*
 " *nat voluptates, iracundiam teneat, coerceat*
 " *avaritiam ceteras animi labes repellat, tum in-*
 " *cipiat aliis imperare, cum ipse improbissimis*
 " *dominis dedecori ac turpitudine parere de-*
 " *fierit. Dum quidem his obediēt non modo*
 " *imperator sed liber habendus omnino non erit :*
 " *præclare enim est hoc usurpatum a doctissimis,*
 " *quorum auctoritate non uter ; si mihi apud*
 " *aliquos agrestes, hæc habenda esset oratio.*
 " *Cum vero apud prudentissimos loquar, quibus*
 " *hæc inaudita non sunt, cur ego simulem, me, si*
 " *quid in his studiis operæ possuerim, perdidisse ?*
 " *dictum est igitur eruditissimis viris, nisi sapien-*
 " *tem, liberum esse neminem. Quid est enim*
 " *Libertas ? potestas vivendi ut velis. Quis igi-*
 " *tur vivit ut vult, nisi qui recta sequitur, qui*
 " *gaudet officio, cui vivendi via considerata at-*
 " *que provisā est ? qui legibus quidem, non*
 " *propter metum paret, sed eas sequitur atque*
 " *colit, quia id salutare maxime esse judicat :*
 " *qui nihil dicit, nihil facit, nihil cogitat deni-*
 " *que, nisi libenter ac libere, cujus omnia con-*
 " *filia, resque omnes, quas gerit, ab ipso profi-*
 " *ciscuntur*

“ ciscuntur eodemq, feruntur—Servi igitur om-
 “ nes improbi, nec hoc tamre est, quam dictu
 “ inopinatum atque mirabile, non enim ita di-
 “ cunt eos esse servos, ut mancipia quæ sunt
 “ dominorum facta nexu, aut aliquo jure civili :
 “ sed si servitus sit, sicut est, obedientia fracti
 “ animi, et abjecti et arbitrio carentis suo, quis
 “ neget, omnes leves, omnes cupidos esse servos ?
 “ Cic. in parad. 5.

Supported by so high an authority, I flatter myself, that my assertion of the universality of slavery, will not be thought very extraordinary; and that it will be allowed me, no man, who is compelled, by necessity, to labour for his daily bread, or who, for a scanty subsistence, finds himself forced to submit to the will and caprice of another, can be said to be free. If that should be admitted, I am sure you will allow, that he who, to support himself, or his family, in luxury and extravagance, or who, for any consideration whatever, submits to be a pander to the ambition, or any other of the passions, vices, or even follies, of another man, is an abject slave:

“ An eorum servitus dubia est, qui cupiditate
 “ peculii nullam conditionem recusant durissimæ
 “ servitutis ? Hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis
 “ in serviendo non suscepit ? Quem nutum lo-
 “ cupletis orbi senis non observat ? Loquitur ad
 “ voluntatem. Quicquid denunciatum sit, facit :
 “ affectatur,

“ affectatur, affidet, muneratur. Quid horum est
 “ liberi ? Quid non denique servi inertis ? Quid ?
 “ Jam illa cupiditas (quæ videtur esse liberalior)
 “ honoris, imperii, provinciarum, quam dura est
 “ domina ! quam imperiosa ! quam vehemens ” !
 Cic. ib.

It is certain that, in civil society, every man is restrained of some part of his natural liberty, and is consequently, in some degree, deprived of his freedom. Every deprivation of freedom is a species of servitude *or slavery*. I do not mean to compare one degree of it with another, so as to decide which is the least supportable, or dispute, what, however, is true in a religious sense only, “ that there is a service which is perfect freedom.” To the pious Christian, “ that yoke is easy, and that burthen light,” which the worldly and wicked man considers as insupportably grievous. Not in that instance only, but in many others, it must be allowed, that the condition of life, which, to one man may appear a state of felicity, may be regarded with dislike, or even detestation, by another. There cannot be a stronger proof of the different opinions upon this subject, than the contempt with which the people of one country, regard the usages and customs of another. The Englishman couples the idea of slavery and wooden shoes together ; while the French peasant would consider his being deprived of his
sabot,

sabot, as it really would be, an encroachment upon his liberty, and subjecting him to cold and disease, which the wooden shoes, or *sabot*, lined with lambskin, by keeping his feet warm and dry, preserve him from. I could multiply instances of a similar nature, but I trust you will not think them necessary to establish that part of my position. I shall, therefore, now proceed to fulfill the task you have set me, claiming, however, your indulgence for any inaccuracies in my quotations, as, for want of books, I am sometimes forced to rely upon compilations and abstracts, rather than on the authors themselves, and not seldom upon a memory almost worn out. Perhaps I may not reply to every instance of cruelty and oppression charged on the Planters, or their overseers, by those who stand forth our accusers. I do not pretend to justify the conduct of individuals. In all communities there are bad men, who are the disgrace of society. But if any general charge, brought by Mr. Clarkson, or any other of the gentlemen who have thought proper to support similar accusations against the West Indians, remain unrefuted, I pledge myself, whenever such are produced, and the colony and times pointed out where and when such facts are said to have happened, to shew that they have neither been common or general; and were even as contrary to the laws and usages of such colony, as to justice and equity;

equity; unless some abler writer should think proper to stand forth in support of the injured reputations of the Planter and Merchant, and thereby render any further, feeble, efforts of mine, unnecessary. I have the more reason to flatter myself this will be the case, as the attention paid by the Parliament to the petitions of many respectable public communities for the abolition of the Slave Trade, or some regulation in the manner of carrying it on, (for they are not agreed among themselves, as to the prayer of their petitions,) must convince the Planters and Merchants, that the clamours and groundless accusations they heretofore despised, have so far imposed on gentlemen of worth and humanity, as to deserve, on that account, to be replied to and refuted.

The representatives of the inhabitants of Jamaica, indeed, have thought it incumbent on them to undertake to shew the falsity of such of the charges against their constituents, as appear, by the minutes of the House of Commons, to be thought deserving enquiry by that august assembly; and to vindicate the laws of the colony, and the manner of executing them, by shewing them to be mild, efficient, and merciful. But it certainly is not consistent with the dignity of that house of assembly, to answer the absurd and groundless charges contained in pamphlets and news-papers. It must, therefore, be the task of individuals, to reply to,
and

and expose such calumnies and falsehoods as have in that manner been propagated ; and I shall rejoice if my attempts may be attended with such success, as to induce the humane and benevolent to have a more just and favourable opinion of our conduct, than they have been impressed with, from the uncontradicted abuse we have been overwhelmed with for many years past.

A tender regard to our fellow creatures, and an endeavour to promote their happiness, is certainly very commendable ; and whoever can contribute to so desirable an end, ought to exert himself for that purpose. The opportunities are innumerable, and at the door of every man : not a town, or a village in Great Britain, but offers to the humane Christian, the poor man, with a large and helpless family of children : some sick or infirm person, destitute of the comforts, if not of the necessaries, of life : some unhappy artizan or farmer, who, from accident, unfavourable seasons, or other misfortunes, has been disabled from paying his rent, and who sees his goods, or his stock, nay, the very beds whereon himself, his wife, and family, used to rest their wearied limbs, after the labours and toils of the day, seized on, and sold by the steward of, perhaps, a relentless or dissipated landlord.

The relieving the distressed of the poor, the sick, the aged, and the infirm, would, it is to be imagined,

gined, afford full employment for the mind and the fortune of the most humane and opulent; but these things disregarded, or but slightly attended to, all sorts and degrees of people, have been incited to interest themselves in the visionary distresses of the Negroes in Africa, or of those who have been transported from thence to the British Sugar Colonies, and sold there; or who are born of such as are resident in the islands, who have not been emancipated.

Among the causes of this outcry against the colonists becoming so general, may be reckoned as not the slightest, that the University of Cambridge having thought fit to offer a prize for the best Dissertation on Slavery, as a subject wherein to exercise the ingenuity and imagination of the junior members of that society—a young man of a fertile fancy obtained the prize:—A matter, surely, of triumph and exultation to him.—The topic was popular; and, in pursuit of his object, he thought proper to exclaim against the commerce carried on in Africa from the remotest antiquity, and to paint the condition of the slaves, obtained by that medium, as miserable in their own country, from the manner in which that commerce is carried on; and as still more insupportable, from the manner of their treatment after they have been transplanted to the British Sugar Colonies in the West Indies. The Author of the
Dissertation.

Dissertation which gained the plaudit of the University, runs no hazard of having the judgment of that learned tribunal appealed from by me. It is not to be doubted, but the decision was just, and that his merit, upon this occasion, was superior to that of his competitors. But in what are we to suppose *this merit* consisted? Surely, in the classic purity of his language, the happy turn of his periods, his choice of epithets, and the conduct of his *fable*. These his judges were competent to decide upon. Whether Mr. Clarkson's pen was guided by truth or fiction, did not necessarily enter into their consideration. *Pheidias*, *Praxiteles*, and *Apelles*, did not gain their reputation from any resemblance their statues or pictures really bore to the deities they respectively represented; those whose applause they received, could not even imagine that to be the case. The artist, indeed, who painted a bunch of grapes so well that the birds came and pecked at it, received the most unequivocal testimony of his excellence, because the birds had seen grapes in their natural state upon the vines: but as the members of the University of Cambridge possessed no such ocular evidence of African or West Indian slavery, the applause Mr. Clarkson received from them, could only regard his composition as a piece of fine writing. The tears Mrs. Siddons draws from her audience are not the less real because she is known

not to be the personage she represents; nor is Mr. Clarkson's merit, as a writer, the less, for having so completely duped the imagination of his readers, as not to let them pause, to consider whether the tales he tells are probable or improbable, true or false. The humane and well tempered *Count* ———, at *Versailles*, who, enthusiastically fond of *Shakespeare*, had his imagination so heated, as to reply to the, "*me voici, Monsieur le Comte,*" of the inimitable *Sterne*, "*mon dieu, Monsieur, et vous etes, Yorick,*" shews how far a favourite subject may absorb a man's faculties. If the members of the University had asked Mr. Clarkson, "*et vous badinez?*" I fear he would not have answered as *Yorick* did, that he *joked* at no one's expence but his own. Though I have not the least idea that he *seriously* supposed his detail of facts would be received as true, when he presented to the University the Dissertation which was honoured with the applause of that learned body, it is certain that, which he has since published, which I now mean to examine, is written to induce people to imagine, that he has given them, not an academical dissertation, but a real and true historical account. And though I undertake to shew that it was impossible he should believe what he has since published to be true, and which, from its inconsistency, there is not the least probability
would

would have been honoured with the prize which (what he calls) his *abridged performance* obtained, yet this Gentleman's "*Essay on the State of Slavery, and the Commerce of the Human Species*;" has persuaded so many people to consider the commerce itself as infamous; and the purchasers of slaves in the colonies as so many savages, devoid of every principle of humanity, that, late as it is, it may, perhaps, be of some small advantage to the cause of the Planters; and of truth, to animadvert upon a performance which has done much unprovoked injury to both. It may not be improper; however, to make a slight observation on the impropriety of Mr. Clarkson's conduct, who, in consequence of the honour conferred on him by the University, for writing his Prize Dissertation in Latin, in the year 1785, when he was *waited upon*, by some gentlemen of *respectability and consequence*, to request he would publish it in *English*. He tells us, *Preface*, p. xxiii, "he had two *copies*, an original, and an abridgment: The latter was that sent down to Cambridge." The latter was *that*, then, which the gentlemen of *respectability and consequence* requested him to publish, "hoping it might be of use, as the public attention was then excited to the case of the unfortunate Africans; and that it would be serving the *cause* with *double effect*, if it were to be published within a few months."

This argument prevailed—To do what?—to publish something else!—Mr. Clarkson can scarce suppose any person will believe, that, what he calls an abridgment was a *copy* of the original, or only differed from it in length! What he wrote at large, contained, doubtless, many of those stories with which his present work abounds; and those excrescences which, if he had not prudently pruned away, he would scarcely have obtained the prize for which he was a candidate. He has, indeed, acknowledged that what he has given to the world, in English, is not only not the Dissertation which obtained the prize, but even not the translation of the *original* of that *abridgment*. He tells us what the considerable additions are which he has made; but very *inconsiderable* additions may be *most material alterations*. Was it, however, fair? (I will not ask, was it not a fraud?) in Mr. Clarkson, to avail himself of the applause he obtained from the University of Cambridge, to impose a writing on the world, as the same in substance, at least, with that which had been so applauded, when he knew it to be essentially different; to publish it too, in order to *serve a cause, a purpose, or a faction*, and *to time it so*; that is, at a period, when people's minds were too much heated to permit them to judge fairly upon the question, in order that it might have a *double effect*?

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The embellishments of African battles, and African poetry, might be forgiven to a young man writing for fame or preferment. The chains, the bowl, the dagger, the tolling knell, and funeral procession, are aids the buskin lays claim to; and when these trappings of terror and of woe, assist to melt the soul into the soft feelings of sensibility, we applaud the poet; we yield, with a willing complacency, to the delusion, and dissolve in tears, which we feel a delicious luxury in shedding. But if similar arts are made use of by a writer, to inflame the passions of his readers, to the prejudice of the fair fame and honour of men of unblemished reputation, to the injury of their fortunes, and their peace of mind, the man who employs them, and prostitutes his talents to so wicked a purpose, deserves, at least, the severest censures. Such, however, has been the behaviour of Mr. Clarkson. Let him, if he can, reconcile such conduct to the rules of morality, of candour, the dictates of conscience, or the precepts of that holy religion to which he has now devoted himself. The more he reflects on the false and ill-founded accusations he has brought against the Sugar Planters, the more reason he will have to lament the disadvantages his reputation must lie under, from his having published his Essay as a translation of his academical Dissertation; and to wish “ he had written upon the
“ subject

“ subject without any reference at all to any (pretended) original copy.

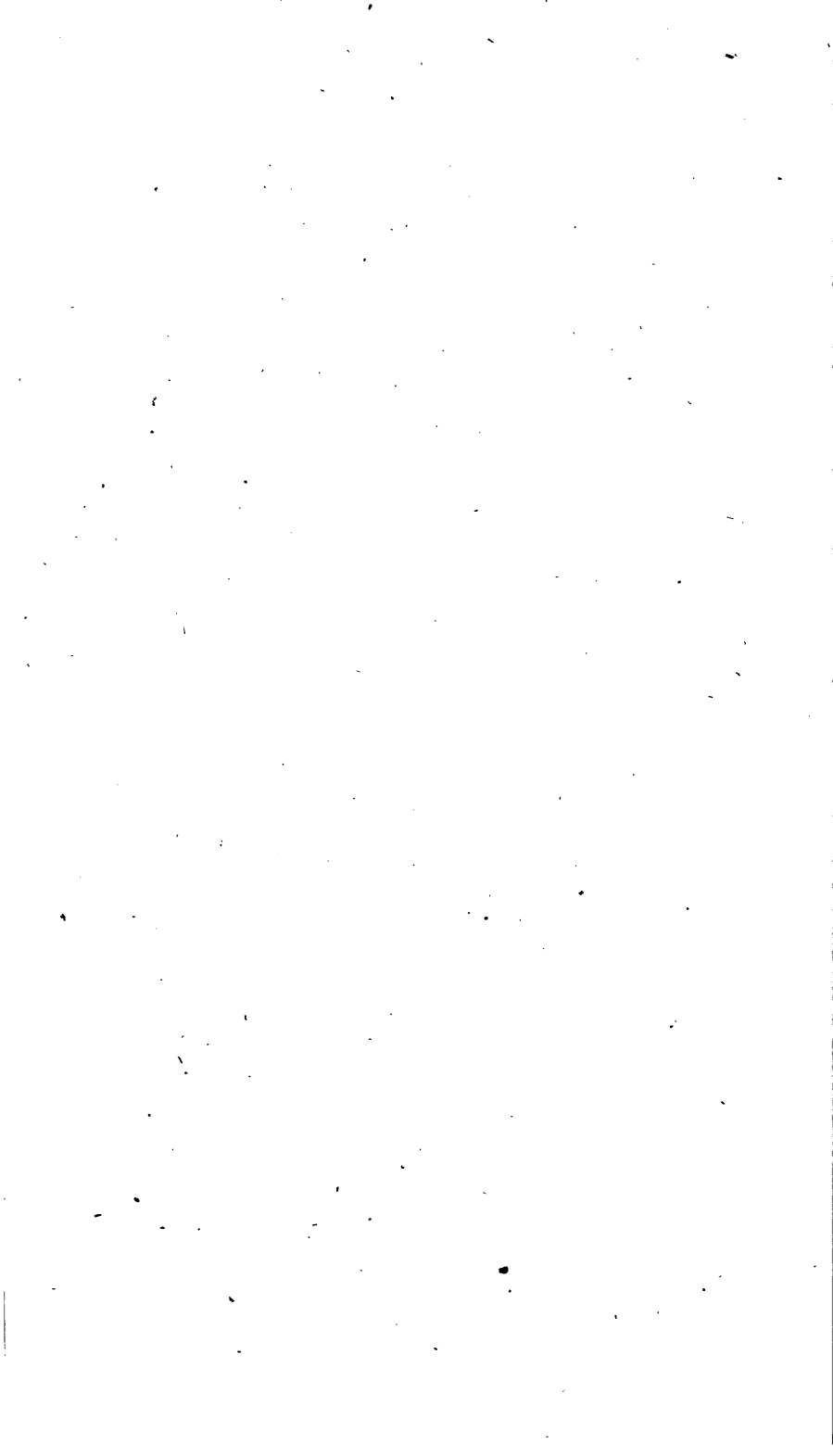
He has, however, thought proper to act otherwise; and we must take things as we find them. I hope, at least, I have made it appear, that the work, now under consideration, has not, in fact, obtained the approbation of that respectable University, who adjudged the prize to (what Mr. Clarkson calls) the *abridgment* of his *original Dissertation*. His present performance, therefore, with all the misrepresentations contained in it, must depend upon itself; totally deprived of the high support which it was supposed to derive from the authority of that learned body. In this performance, Mr. Clarkson sets out with acknowledging (*Essay*, p. i.) “ when civilized, as well as barbarous, nations, have been found, through a long succession of ages, uniformly to concur in the same customs, there seems to arise a presumption, that such customs are not only eminently useful, but are founded also upon the principles of justice”. “ Such,” says Mr. Clarkson, “ is the case with respect to *slavery*: it has had the concurrence of all the nations which history has recorded, and the repeated practice of ages from the remotest antiquity.”

A young man of less *fortitude* than Mr. Clarkson, would, perhaps, have hesitated a little, before

fore he had precipitately decided, that a custom, sanctified for so many thousand years, by the approbation and usage of all mankind, is *most impious* and *execrable*. In a matter, which he acknowledges to be of that importance, as “ that the dignity of human nature, and the rights “ and the liberties of mankind, are involved in “ its discussion”, some degree of diffidence, some doubts of his own judgment, might have been expected from an undergraduate, notwithstanding he had been honoured by the University, of which he was a member, with the *first* of their annual prizes for the year 1785, before he ventured to pass sentence; especially, when he found it necessary, in order to ascertain the truth, where the force of such custom pleaded so strongly against what he calls the feelings of humanity, “ to consult the *history of slavery*, and to lay before the “ reader, in as concise a manner as possible, a “ general view of it, from its earliest appearance “ to the present day.”—How far he has done so, I shall consider hereafter. At present give me leave to conclude, assuring you of the respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir, &c.

L E T T E R



L E T T E R II.

Jamaica, Oct. 7th 1782.

DEAR SIR,

AFTER Mr. Clarkson's avowal of the anti-quity and universality of slavery, and the necessity of laying a view of the history of it before his readers, in order to justify his deciding upon a question of such importance, we had, doubtless, a right to expect he would have done so, with some degree of candour and regard to his reputation as a man of letters ; but I leave it to the public to judge, upon a fair examination of Mr. Clarkson's History of Slavery, how far it will do credit to him, with respect to his abilities or fidelity as an historian, or to his justice and impartiality as a judge.

The first *class of Slaves* which he chuses to introduce to the acquaintance of his readers, are the people who, he informs us, are usually denominated *Mercenarii*. He tells us also, " that the " Grecian Thetes were of this kind ; and those " among the Egyptians and the Jews mentioned " in the sacred writings." He then proceeds to give us some account of the nature of slavery among the Germans and the Greeks, whose piracies and depredations, in the early period of their history, he tells us, from *Thucydides*, were their
only

only profession and support. The quotations from that author, from *Homer*, *Xenophon*, *Aristotle*, *Plautus*, *Horace*, *Tacitus*, and other Greek and Roman authors, may fill his readers with admiration of his prodigious reading, but will afford them very little instruction. For, in the course of thirty pages, we do not perceive any thing which has the least similitude of a View of the History of Slavery. In page 31 of his Essay, indeed, he seems to recollect his engagement, and begins his *History of the Commerce of the Human Species*, with telling us, “ It was founded on the idea that men
 “ were *property*, and must have arisen in the first
 “ practises of *barter*.—The Story of *Joseph*, as
 “ recorded in the sacred writings, is an ample
 “ testimony of the truth of this conjecture.—It
 “ shews, as all customs must require time for
 “ their establishment, that it existed in the ages
 “ previous to *Pharaoh*, that is, in those ages in
 “ which we fixed the first date of involuntary servitude.”—“ *Egypt* (Mr. Clarkson tells us)
 “ was the first market that is recorded for the sale
 “ of the human species.”

I have really given every attention to the foregoing passages of the Essay, without being able to discover their meaning. It appears Joseph was purchased with money, not by way of barter. In like manner Abraham purchased Ephron's land with money.—Can *Egypt* be the first market recorded for

for the sale of the human species? when we hear of a company of *Midianitish* merchants, “travel-
 “ling up and down, collecting not only balm,
 “myrrh, *spicery*, and other wares, but the *Hu-
 “man Species* also.” Does not Mr. Clarkson
 consider that a purchase implies a sale; and that
 if these merchants carried people to *Egypt* for sale,
 they must first have bought them. If, therefore,
 Joseph was sold to the Midianites, or Ishmaelites,
 coming from Gilead, unless they brought Slaves
 with them, Canaan, where Joseph was sold, was
 the first market that is recorded for the sale of the
 human species. If, on the contrary, they
 brought slaves from Gilead, a mart for the sale
 and purchase of slaves, must have been established
 there. All we are able to learn from Mr. Clark-
 son’s six first chapters of his Essay, is, that slavery
 existed from a very early period; that slaves were
 sold in *Egypt*; where, in one part of his perform-
 ance, he tells us, that, to the *eternal honor* of
 that country, they were treated with *humanity*;
Essay, p. 20; and very soon after, that they were
there treated with such *severity*, as that the coun-
 try merited the epithet of *bitter Egypt*, bestowed
 upon it by *Homer*; (*Essay*, p. 35.) To say no-
 thing of these contradictions, it surely cannot be
 called a “*View of the History of Slavery*,” to tell
 us that slaves were sold in *Egypt*, in *Athens*, in
Cyprus; and that the Grecians bartered slaves for
 wine

wine during the time of the *Trojan war*. All these things shew us no more, than that there were slaves at those several periods. Nor does the *war-dance* of the Thracians, mentioned by Xenophon, give us a wit more distinct idea of slavery, than *Major Rogers's* account of a similar war-dance of the American savages, on the banks of the lake *Huron*.

Mr. Clarkson, tho' he acknowledges that slavery existed prior to the time of Joseph, begins his history only from the time of that Patriarch. He has the scriptures to justify him in that account, and we acknowledge their authority. But, with those sacred volumes in his hand, is it not extraordinary that Mr. Clarkson, the now *reverend Mr. Clarkson*, has neglected those genuine and venerable sources of information, and rather relied upon the authority of Homer, Thucydides, &c. and from them to deduce his View of the History of Slavery, so many centuries after the S. S. speak of its having existed? Had our Essayist meant to have faithfully informed his readers of what those books teach him, he would have quoted the 9th, and other early chapters, of *Genesis*, instead of the 47th. As he has not done it, the reader is desired to turn to the 25th verse of the 9th chapter. He will there find, that, on account of the offence committed by *Ham* against his father, his posterity, to his fourth son, *Canaan*, are doomed to be the *slaves* of

of his brethren. The words of the text are, "curfed be *Canaan*, a fervant of fervants fhall he be unto his brethren". But it appears clearly, from the context, that the *elder* brethren of *Canaan* were involved in the fentence; a fentence pronounced by Noah, the fupreme lord of the whole earth, and the only perfon, fince our firft parent, who had a right to claim the title of univerfal monarch.

I have, in a former publication, urged, in favor of the prefent commerce of flaves, that it is probable the Negroes are the descendants of *Cufh*, the eldeft fon of *Ham*. I did not then know that fuch my opinion had the fanktion of that learned mythologift *Mr. Bryant*, whom *Mr. Clarkfon* has thought proper to quote, in a note to page 181 of his Effay. Though this quotation is made by *Mr. Clarkfon*, with intention to expofe the reafoning of fuch of the advocates for the Weft India Planters, as have fuggelted the descendants of *Canaan* to be the perfons doomed, by the fentence of Noah, to flavery, yet I cannot conceive how it *has fuitcd Mr. Clarkfon's purpofe*, to produce *Mr. Bryant's* testimony. If it fhould appear, from thence, what, indeed, is clear from the fcriptures themfelves, that the Negroes are not defcended from *Canaan*, it, at the fame time, fhews his opinion, that they *are* defcended from

from Cush, or the other children of Ham. Mr. Clarkson acknowledges that fact. We desire no more. I know not who contends for the Negroes being the descendants of Canaan; as little are we concerned whether the people of Lybia are descended from Phut, or from Mizraim. *We wish not to be wise above what is written.* The scriptures say nothing of the descendants of Phut; but we are expressly told, that the *eldest* son of Ham was called Cush. We know also, that Cush, in the Hebrew language, signifies *black*; and that the Ethiopians, as Mr. Clarkson allows, were called *Cushim*, כּוּשִׁים, “Children of *Cush*.” Whether, therefore, any of the descendants of Phut, or Mizraim, were black, or whether there were any descendants of Phut, does not appear from the Hebrew scriptures. If Mr. Bryant’s conjecture be well founded, with respect to their posterity, it only shews, that the curse, or sentence, denounced against Ham, extended so much the further. It may be objected, that Cush was born prior to the time of Ham’s committing the offence against his father, for which he sentenced him, and his family, to so severe a punishment; and therefore, the complexion of Cush could not have any relation to the crime to be committed afterwards by his father. In answer to this objection, I observe, there is no impropriety, nor improbability, in
supposing

supposing that the blackness of Cush was the mark set upon him, and his posterity, from the fore knowledge of the Deity of the crime, and consequent punishment, which Ham would commit, and be sentenced to; and as a seal of that perpetual servitude to which his descendants were to be doomed by that sentence. This will appear the less extraordinary, when we reflect on the remarkably prophetic names which, in the patriarchal times, were imposed upon children by their parents. Thus, the name of the son of *Enoch*, מֶתוּשֶׁלַח, *Methuselah*, *Gen. 5. v. 21*, which signifies, “*he dieth, and it cometh*,” was prophetically descriptive of the time the flood was to overwhelm the earth, which happened, according to the scripture chronology, in the very year he died. The name of נֹחַ, *Noah*, “*he comforteth*,” is, in the like manner, prophetic of that patriarch’s renewing the human race, after the destruction of mankind by the deluge. It does not, however, appear, that his father *Lamech* had that circumstance in view, at the time he gave him that name, saying, “this same shall comfort us concerning our work, and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the *Lord* hath cursed.” *Gen. 5. v. 29*. Thus also, *Gen. 10. v. 25*. the son of *Eber* is named פֶּלֶג, *Peleg*, “because,” says the scripture, “in his days the earth was divided.” נֶפֶלֶגַת הָאָרֶץ, *Nepelagab bearetz*.

bearetz. It is needless to multiply similar authorities, to the believing reader, to shew, that such prophetic names were given by the ancient patriarchs to their children. To an unbeliever, what appears in the scriptures, will only prove, that, in that ancient book, there is an assertion, that a considerable part of mankind were, from the earliest ages, destined to live in a state of slavery to the other part ; that a part of those, so destined, were descended from a black ancestor ; and that slavery was, therefore, always one of the conditions of human life ; in proof of which, I mean to produce still further testimony.

It may not, however, be unworthy notice here, that the division of the earth before mentioned, to have happened in the days of Peleg, was so remarkable, that his name is the root of the word, which signifies the *Sea*, in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages. It has, therefore, with great propriety, been heretofore observed, by a learned author, “ That the division of the
 “ earth, recorded in the scripture, was a division
 “ made by the sea ; and, perhaps, the division
 “ meant, was the very extraordinary separation of
 “ Europe and Africa from America, by the sub-
 “ mersion of the Island of *Atalantis* *, said (in
 “ Plato’s *Timæus*) to have been bigger than all

* Platonis Critias. Ed. Steph. t. 3, p. 108.

“ Lybia and Europe ; to have been situated opposite to the Straights of Gades, (now *Gibraltar*) ; and to have been swallowed up by an earthquake, which happened in the early ages of the world.”

Altho', for reasons above mentioned, some people may have been inclined to doubt, whether any of the children of Ham were *black*, except *Cush*, yet there is no doubt but many of the descendants of Mizraim were slaves for several generations, that is, to the time of Abraham, who, according to the Mosaic account, was born 292 years after the deluge*. Noah lived 350 years after that period ; and, consequently, Abraham must have been born 58 years before the death of that father of mankind, and 210 years before the death of Shem, who survived Abraham 35 years, as appears by *Genesis* 25. v. 7 ; where he is mentioned to have died at the age of 175

* Shem, after the flood	—	—	—	2 years
begat Arphaxed, who	—	—	—	35 after
begat Salah	—	—	—	30
begat Eber	—	—	—	34
begat Peleg	—	—	—	30
begat Reu	—	—	—	32
begat Sirug	—	—	—	30
begat Nahor	—	—	—	29
begat Terah	—	—	—	70
begat Abraham	—	—	—	292 years
after the deluge, v. <i>Gen.</i> 9. v. 10. to the 26.				

D 2

years.

years. *Hagar*, Sarah's bond maid, was an Egyptian, מִצְרַיִת, *Mizraith*, a female descendant of Mizraim. There is no reason to suppose that Sarah might not have been possessed of this slave before she left Ur, of the Chaldees, with her father-in-law *Terah*, to go into Canaan.

The family, in their journey, dwelt some time in Haran; and Abraham left Haran for Canaan, when he was 75 years old. Thus it clearly appears, from scripture, that slavery was a condition of human life from the time of Noah's sentence passed on the posterity of Ham, and in common practice in less than 300 years after the flood. In all probability, Noah was living at the time this descendant of Mizraim was the bond-slave of Sarah. At any rate Shem, the eldest son of Noah, was then in the vigour of life. There is not the slightest ground to imagine slavery commenced at that period. Hagar's being the slave of Sarah, is mentioned as an accidental circumstance: nor is it probable that her name would ever have been heard of at all, but from her being the mother of Abraham's son Ishmael. Not one of Abraham's other servants is mentioned by name, except Eliezer, of Damascus, his steward, or principal servant, who was sent to Mesopotamia to procure a wife for his son Isaac, from the family of Nahor, Abraham's brother, *Gen.* 24. The travels of Abraham, from Ur, in Chaldea,
from

from thence to Egypt, from Egypt to the land of the Philistines, and the sending his servants with camels, and a considerable equipage, to Mesopotamia, shew that such journies were neither difficult, or unfrequent: and, as a farther proof of the facility, as well as the safety, of travelling in those days, we may mention the journey of Jacob, when sent by his mother from Beersheba to Padan-Aram, in Syria; a distance of not less than 500 miles, without any guard, or any servant or companion. As Abraham was 58 years old at the time of Noah's death, and his eldest son, Shem, even survived Abraham, it is not at all improbable, that Abraham might have seen and conversed with both, and have received their instructions; at least, it is very unlikely, that he should not have had frequent communications with them, wherever they might have been settled; even if the conjecture of Noah's having fixed himself in China, or any other remote part of the world, be well founded; as there is no reason to suppose there could be any great difficulty in the intercourse between people who had so lately separated from each other. Is it then to be believed, that slavery, which, it is manifest, existed prior to the time of Abraham, had not the sanction of Noah, and of Shem, his eldest son, and therefore, that it was a condition of human life as

ancient as the existence of society, and during the life of Noah himself.

I know not whose opinion Mr. Clarkson contraverts, when he asserts, that the descendants of Canaan were *not black*; tho' I agree, there is not the least reason to think they were; yet it is clear that Canaan himself was doomed, like his brethren then born, to servitude. Surely it would appear very much like an act of injustice, if he had been punished alone for the crime of Ham: yet, perhaps, the contrary is not evident, at the first view of the text. However, if the words are examined with attention, and a proper regard is paid to the idiom of the Hebrew language, the difficulty will vanish, and the sense of the passage be perfectly clear, even if the context had permitted any doubt to remain. The sentence is, "Curst be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren;" עֲבָדִים עָבַד; *Obed, Obedim*, "a slave of slaves." Thus it appears his brethren were *slaves*: he might otherwise have been the servant or slave of his brethren; but unless they were in a state of servitude, he could not have been the servant of servants.

It does not appear that this sentence affected Canaan's immediate descendants, who were, the Sidonians, the Hittites, Jebusites, Emorites, Girgashites, Hivites, &c. neither did it extend to
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all the posterity of Cush ; for it appears to have had a period with his sixth son, Nimrod. Indeed, the Philistines, who are reckoned among his descendants, often kept the children of Israel in slavery. By what means Nimrod avoided sharing the fate of the other children of Cush, we are not told, nor whether he used violence to effect his emancipation. He is called, “ a mighty hunter before the Lord.” The original is גִּבּוֹר צִיר לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, *Gebur. Tzir Lepeni Jehovah*, a phrase of very doubtful meaning, and capable of a favourable, as well as an unfavourable, interpretation. One thing is, however, evident, that he was the founder of a mighty empire.

To prove that the posterity of Canaan were not kept as slaves by their brethren, it is sufficient to shew, that, when Abraham lived among the children of Heth, in Canaan, he acknowledged their superiority as lords of the soil. When he asked of them a burying place for his wife Sarah, they say to him—“ Hear us, my lord : thou art a “ mighty prince among us ; in the choice of our “ sepulchres bury thy dead.” Abraham, however, mighty prince as he was, “ bowed himself “ to the people of the land, even to the children “ of Heth.” He refused to accept of the land, which was offered with the kindness of a friend and relation. “ What,” says Ephron, the Hittite, “ is the price of the land between *thee* and

“ *me?*” But Abraham chose rather to purchase it. This circumstance is an incontrovertible proof, that the descendants of Canaan were not slaves, until the time that the Hivites, who dwelt in Gibeon, surrendered themselves to Joshua. It appears, also, that, at the time Abraham went down into Egypt, on account of the famine in Canaan, altho’ the Egyptians were not then slaves, and at the absolute disposal of their prince, yet slavery existed among them; because Pharaoh *gave* Abraham men-servants and maid-servants.

What has been observed, I flatter myself, you will consider as proof, that Mr. Clarkson has, by no means, fulfilled his promise, of laying before his readers “ A General View of Slavery, from “ its first Appearance to the Time he wrote.” He has not only omitted giving any particular account of the nature of slavery, or the reason of its existence, from the time of Noah to that of Joseph, (that is for 560 years,) but, when he does condescend to hint at (for he does not expressly mention) the very extraordinary surrender made by the Egyptians, of their estates and persons, to their king, he endeavours to induce his readers to believe, “ that these people only became so poor as to have recourse, for their support, to the service of the rich.” For the truth of this position, Mr. Clarkson is hardly
enough.

enough to refer his reader to the 47th chap. of *Genesis*, (*Essay*, p. 3.)

Men, who write to *support a cause, or a party*, who publish, at the minute of time when their writings may have a *double effect*, are, perhaps, not scrupulously attentive to avoid falling into those errors, or mistakes, which, before they can be discovered, or corrected, may have *served the purpose* for which they were intended; and when the discovery of the falsehood, or mistake, is likely to be made, it proves too late.

Is it possible that Mr. Clarkson, or the *gentlemen of respectability and consequence* who applied to him, could believe the Egyptians hired themselves out for their temporary support? Can words be more plain and express than the language of the people? “There is not ought left
“ in the sight of my lord, but our *bodies*, and our
“ *lands*—*Buy us*, therefore, *and our land*, for
“ bread; and *we*, and our land, will be *servants*
“ [*slaves*] unto Pharaoh,” *Gen.* 47. v. 18, 19. Joseph took their persons into his possession, removed them to new habitations, and tells them, (v. 23.) “Behold! I have *bought you* this day,
“ you, and your land, for Pharaoh!” Can any thing in the world be plainer than the terms of this surrender? or was there ever a more unlimited unconditional slavery? Not a hint is given that this *advantage*, (as it may be called,) taken of the necessities

necessities of a whole people, by their prince, and the reducing them to slavery, is contrary to the will of the Deity. The agent, in this transaction, is an inspired prophet, and “a man in whom the spirit of God was”! who was sent, in almost a miraculous manner, into the country for the purpose. This could not be tortured by Mr. Clarkson in any manner to have the appearance of guilt on the part of Pharaoh, or of Joseph. To avoid, therefore, what must have been the conclusion from these premises, Mr. Clarkson endeavors to impose upon his readers, and persuade them to believe, in direct contradiction to the express averment of scripture, that those people were reduced to that state of servitude, which is usually denominated the *mercenary*. “Of this kind (says he) were those, both among the Egyptians and the Jews, which are recorded in the sacred writings.”—Is there any analogy between the absolute surrender of the Egyptians of their lands and persons to Pharaoh, and the directions given to the Jews, in the passage Mr. Clarkson refers to in *Leviticus*, “to consider their poor brethren, not in the light of slaves, but of hired servants?” This first class of people reduced to *servitude*, by which, in a view of the History of Slavery, we must suppose Mr. Clarkson means we should understand *slaves*, he tells us, in a note, in the very next page of his Essay, were *free-men*!

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He asserts "that these *mercenarii* were so denominated from the circumstances of their hire; " and that they are sometimes mentioned in the " [Roman] law books by the name of *liberi*, " from the circumstances of their birth, to distinguish them from *alieni*, or foreigners." It cannot be supposed, that Mr. Clarkson added such a note to the Dissertation which obtained the prize. It must have appeared to the University a strange comment on the text of *Justinian*, to declare, that the class of people he mentions by the name of *mercenarii*, were called *liberi*, (freemen,) for any other purpose than to distinguish them from such as were not free. These Egyptians, these *mercenarii*, the Grecian prodigals, and the German enthusiasts, who, he tells us, (from Tacitus,) staked their liberty at play, he calls *voluntary slaves*, and so dismisses them as not worth consideration; but surely, it is by no means clear, that these Egyptians were *voluntary* slaves; or, if they were, in reviewing the History of Slavery, one class of slaves ought to be the subject of consideration as well as the others, and not be merely mentioned for "the purpose of stating the question with (what Mr. Clarkson calls) greater " accuracy; or to enable him to reduce the question into its proper limits, and then be taken " no more notice of."—Mr. Clarkson seems very much in a hurry to get rid of a question of such weight

weight and importance. Like a second Alexander, if he cannot untie the Gordian knot, he will cut it. But can these Egyptians be in any manner considered as *voluntary* slaves? Why are they more so than prisoners of war? The latter surrender themselves to save their lives. Did not the Egyptians do the same? Let us hear what they say. "Give us feed, that we may *live*, and *not die*; that the land be not *desolate*." What feverer compulsion than this!

Upon the whole, this first part of Mr. Clarkson's General View of Slavery is so unfair, there is not a doubt, but he must submit to an imputation, either on his judgment or his integrity. I have endeavoured, as concisely as possible, to fill up the chasm between the first account in the scriptures, and the period at which Mr. Clarkson chuses to commence his General View of Slavery; as, notwithstanding some apparent confession of its antiquity, we cannot consider him as taking up the consideration of it earlier than the time of Joseph; and, I flatter myself, we have proved, *first*, that slavery is as antient as Noah, and had its commencement from the time that Patriarch sentenced Ham's posterity to servitude: *secondly*, that such servitude was in usage and practise in the time of Abraham, and continued to be an established condition of human life in the time of Joseph: *thirdly*, that no reproach appears to have
fallen

fallen on those who traded in slaves, or on those who retained their fellow creatures in slavery: *fourthly*, that the whole people, of a great nation, were permitted to sell themselves to their prince for a maintenance; and that an inspired person, who had the spirit of God in him, and who was set apart, in a particular manner, by the Divine Providence, for that purpose, was, though a slave himself, the agent, or instrument, in the hands of the Deity, to effect such an extraordinary business. It may here be added, that the Deity not only permitted, but foretold, the slavery in which the children of Israel were detained for four hundred years, to the time of their great ancestor, Abraham, *Gen. 15. v. 13.*—We may, therefore, safely conclude, if the scriptures are true, both for the antiquity and lawfulness of slavery, and the Slave Trade; nor in such case *is it evident*, in any manner, as Mr. Clarkson contends, in *p. 184* of his *Essay*, that the curse of Ham is accomplished, any more than (if the scriptures are false, a supposition which I will, in charity, suppose Mr. Clarkson makes, *p. 185*, merely for the sake of argument) it can be admitted, “that there neither “was such a person as *Cain* or *Ham*, or *Canaan*.” Such persons may have all existed, even though the scriptures may, in some particulars, have been interpolated, or corrupted: nor have we ever heard, that any, even of those who pretend to
doubt

doubt of the divine origin of the sacred scriptures, scruple to acknowledge them as the most antient and respectable, as well as most indisputable, historical authorities handed down to us.

Should I, however, be driven to the testimony of profane authors, in support of my assertion, "that slavery has always been a condition of human life," I shall be able to adduce proofs, in favour of that position, as numerous as the civilized nations with which history has made us acquainted. As to the barbarous and savage hords of people, their wants are few, and few slaves are necessary for their service; such people, therefore, have generally no other slaves than their wives; but that they hold *them* in the severest state of servitude, is so generally true, that we may defy those who are advocates for a perfect equality among mankind, and assert such an equality ever had existence in this world, to point out one savage nation where the women have not been treated as slaves.—But to proceed with our examination into the state and condition of mankind in civilized countries. In order to save time both to you and myself, I will avail myself of the confession of Mr. Clarkson, as to its being common among the Greeks and Romans, as well as among the Phrygians, Thracians, and Germans; and we may also readily allow, that among some, if not all, of these people, slaves were treated in a cruel, barbarous manner; and that in Egypt and Athens only.

only, the severity of their lot was, in a certain degree, mitigated. I should not have been sorry if Mr. Clarkson had been a little more particular in his description of the condition of slaves among these people, particularly among the Greeks. We should have been thankful (if it could have suited his purpose) to have described the situation of those slaves among the Lacedemonians, who were called *Helotes*; that he might have had the pleasure (for such it must have been to a man of his humanity) to have compared their condition with that of the African Slaves in the Colonies. As he has not thought proper to do it, and I wish not to draw so unpleasant a picture of antient manners, I will not make any comparison between the condition of those *Helotes* and the Negro Slaves. It is sufficient, for the design of the present argument, that Mr. Clarkson allows slavery always to have existed among the Greeks, &c. under different modifications of greater or less degrees of severity. That it likewise was in common usage among the antient Persians, Babylonians, Medes, and Assyrians, is equally apparent, both from sacred and profane history. Besides the account of the wars of the king of Elam, or Persia, leagued with the king of Shinaar, or Babylon, and other princes of the east, mentioned *Gen. c. 14*, when they carried away Lot, and the inhabitants of Sodom, prisoners; the captivity of the ten tribes, by Shalmanezzer;

manezzer ; that of the Jews, by the king of Babylon ; and the continuation of such captivity under Darius, the Mede, put the matter out of all doubt.

We are told by *Ctesias*, that Ninus, in conjunction with Ariæus, king of the Arabians, conquered the Babylonians, carried away a great number of the inhabitants of that country captives, and imposed a tribute on the remainder. *Semiramis*, his successor, is said to have employed two millions of people, of *all countries*, throughout her dominions, in building the walls of Babylon : and we learn from the same author, that this queen, and her more infamous successors, were attended by *eunuchs*, in the same manner as all the other princes of the east are at present*. How long must the *commerce of the human species* have subsisted, and how infamous must the practice of it have become in those countries, before emasculated slaves were common in the world ? and yet we read, without surprize, of eunuchs, in the Old as well as in the New Testament. Nor does it appear necessary, that the eunuch of *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, should have been personally emancipated, in order to be intitled, by his conversion, to the full enjoyment of that spiritual liberty, with which

* *Semiramis teneros mares castravit omnium prima.*

Am. Marcel. l. 14. p. 22.

Christ

Christ hath made us free. But, not to rely on the authority of *Ctésias*, we learn also, from *Herodotus*, *lib. 3.* that the Babylonians, in part of their tribute to the Persians, paid annually *five hundred eunuchs*. The Ethiopians also sent them *five young Ethiopian eunuchs* every third year : and the Colchians also, every fifth year, sent a tribute of *one hundred boys*, and *one hundred young women*. The same author, *lib. 4.* explains the nature of the African commerce, which was carried on in the time of Psammeticus, king of Egypt, whose vessels, equipped from *Suez*, and commanded by Phœnician seamen, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Egypt by the Mediterranean Sea. At the ceremony of the inauguration of Ptolemy Philadelphus, we are told, by *Athenæus*, that female slaves, of Asia and *Africa*, began the procession. Camels, loaded with incense, saffron, cinnamon, and precious aromatics, followed. A body of Ethiopians bore ebony wood, and four hundred elephants teeth. Abyssinians were loaded with gold dust.—We learn also, from *Diod. Sic. lib. 1.* that *Alexandria* alone contained *six hundred thousand* slaves in the time of the Ptolemies. Add to what has been before said, that slavery has ever been in usage among the *Chinese*. The high antiquity of that people is indisputable : their annals, for several thousand years, bear marks of unquestionable authority. There are not wanting men of great learning, who maintain their king *Fo-hi* to

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have

have been *Noah*. According to *Pere du Halde*, the Chinese annals may be safely relied on from *Ya-o*, who was the eighth emperor from *Fo-bi*, and is said to have reigned 2357 years before the Christian era, (*i. e.*) within a very few years of the deluge, according to the Hebrew chronology. Their histories make no mention when slavery had a commencement in that country; and it is, therefore, fair, and, indeed, reasonable, to conclude, that it had an existence among them coeval with their empire.

There is still behind an authority, which, next to the scriptures, must be decisive as to the antiquity, if not to the lawfulness, of slavery. I mean the sacred books of the *Gentoos* in the East Indies, and their laws, with which we have lately been brought acquainted by *Mr. Halbed*.

The sacred books, which are regarded with the highest veneration throughout all *Indostan*, are the *four Bedes*; books which, like the Chinese annals, lay claim to a higher antiquity than the period assigned by *Moses* for the deluge.

Although our conviction of the truth of the Mosaic account, should prevent our acknowledging these claims, in their fullest extent, yet it is impossible we should not admit, that these books contain the most evident uncontrovertible marks of very high antiquity.

Mr. Dow, in the dissertation prefixed to his *History of Indostan* (*p. xxvii.*) informs us, that
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the first credible account of the *four Bedes*, is, that they were collected, *not written*, at that era, or period of their history, called *Cal Jug*, by a philosopher, or prophet, called *Muni*, or the inspired. This era, according to that author, and the accounts of the Bramins, was prior to the present year of our Lord, 1788, by 4906 years; and corresponds to the year of the world 886, or 770 years anterior to the deluge; according to scripture chronology.

Mr. Dow also informs us, (*p. xxxii.* of the same dissertation,) "That the Hindoos have, from all antiquity, been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehends a variety of casts. These tribes are,

1st. That of the *Bramins*, or priesthood.

2nd. The *Chitteri*, *Kittri*, or *Sittri*, the military.

3rd. The *Beise*, or *Bise*, the merchant.

4th. The *Sooder*, or *Sudder*, the menial servant."

He also mentions the *Harri*, who are the outcasts of all the tribes; wretches that one would scarcely believe could possibly exist in such a deplorable situation, as that in which we are told they live, a condition infinitely inferior to that of the vilest slavery.

We learn, from *Mr. Halbed's* account of the *Gentoo* laws, *chap. 8. § 1. p. 138*, that one of the casts of the *Sooder* tribe is called *Dofs*. The persons of whom this cast consists, are all slaves;

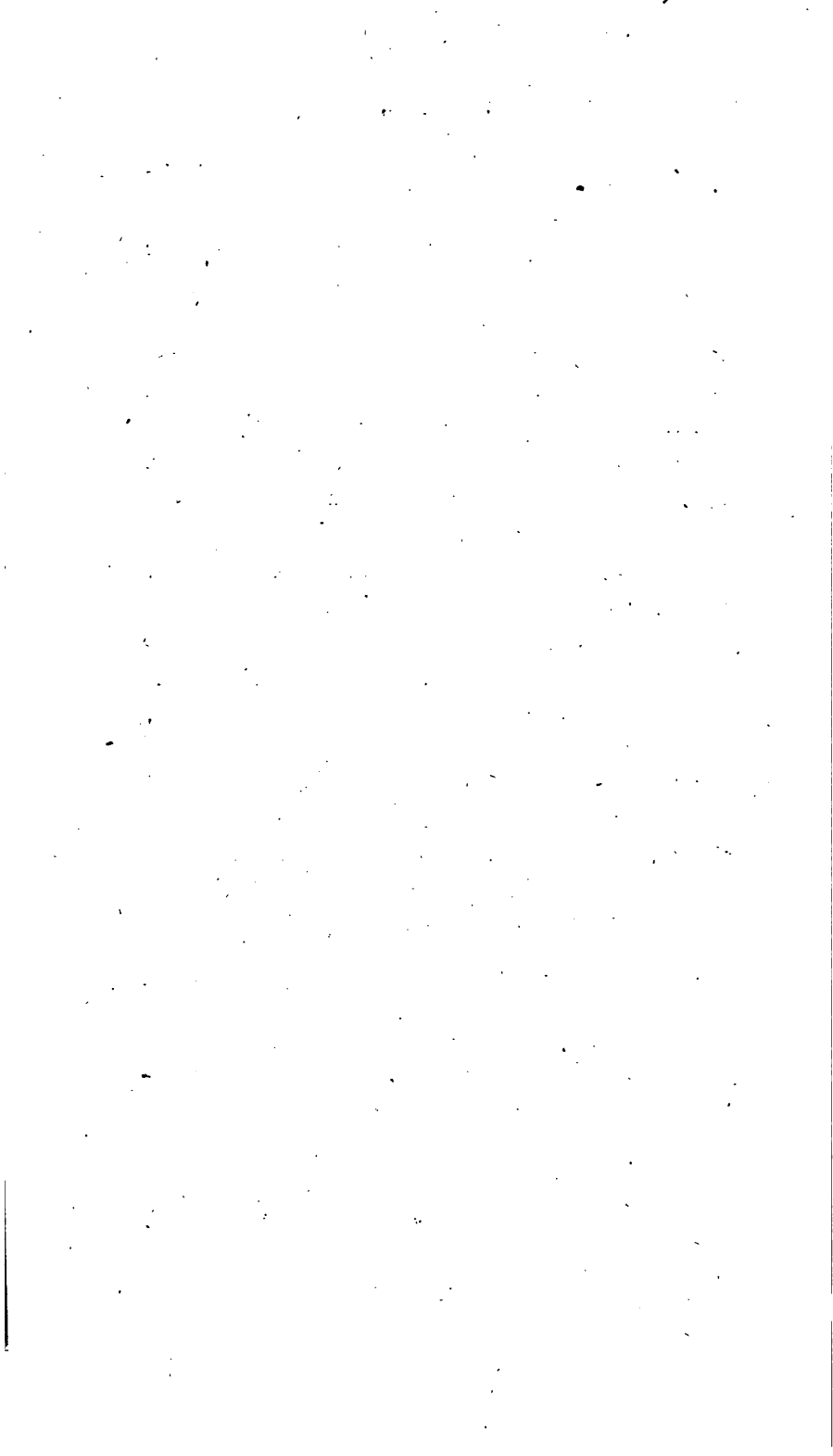
and they may become so by no less than fifteen different modes ; for the particulars of which the reader is referred to the book itself. It will be sufficient to observe here, that only one of the fifteen modes of becoming a slave, is that of being taken in war ; a proof that, in the countries, and among the people, of the greatest antiquity, a very small part of the slaves are captives ; notwithstanding the writers on the laws of nations, in Europe, seem to regard those people only as subjects of servitude. It may be further remarked, that, in India, no person, even if taken in war, can become a slave to one of an inferior cast. Thus, a Bramin can in no case become a slave. A superior Bramin may demand service of another : a Bramin may demand service of a Sittri, the Sittri of the Bise, the Bise of the Sooder ; but these are qualified and honourable services only, and not the service of slaves, which is peculiar to the cast *Dofs*, of the Sooder tribe.

I might rely upon the concurrent testimonies which have been produced, both from sacred and prophane authors, in proof of my position, that slavery was ever a condition of human life ; but I cannot avoid observing, in addition, that, on the discovery of *Mexico* by the Spaniards, slavery was in use among them ; and that it was not only prisoners of war who were slaves. I conceive this remark to be the more pertinent, because it shews the difference between civilized people
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and savages. The nation of Mexico, and the neighbourhood, had attained a much higher degree of civilization than was known in Europe even in the fourteenth century, and possessed slaves; whereas the savages, a very few degrees to the northward of them, had none, except their wives, who still, as heretofore, do all the labour, till the ground, grind the corn, make the bread, carry all burthens, and perform all such offices as may be considered servile. It is also remarkable, that, among those nations where Mr. Clarkson acknowledges the existence of slavery, the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, they had no name whereby to express a servant, which did not signify the condition of a slave; nor did they ever speak of persons *hired* to do any kind of labour, but by such term as expressed they were to be paid for their work; and, in this example, the word made use of, had not any reference to shew, there was any degree of servility in the nature of their labour. *

Adieu, &c.

* The name of a *Slave* in Hebrew, as has been before remarked, is עבֵר, *Obed*. That of a *hired servant*, is שכֵר, *Shekir*. In Greek the *Slave* is called δούλος; a *hired servant*, μισθωτός, or μισθός. In Latin the *Slave* is *servus*; the *hired servant*, *mercenarius*.



LETTER III.

Jamaica, October, 12, 1788.

DEAR SIR.

I HAVE, in my two former Letters, endeavoured to shew the antiquity and universality of slavery, antecedent to the Christian dispensation. But Mr. Clarkson asserts, "That however
 " slavery had the concurrence of all nations,
 " which history has recorded, and the repeated
 " practice of ages, from the remotest antiquity;
 " in its favour, *Essay*, p. 2, yet, that *Christianity*
 " taught, that *all men were originally equal*; that
 " the Deity was no respecter of persons; and
 " that, as all men were to give an account of
 " their actions hereafter, it was necessary that
 " they should be free," *Essay*, p. 38. "These
 " doctrines," Mr. Clarkson says, "could not
 " fail of having their *proper* influence on those
 " who *first* embraced Christianity, from a *con-*
 " *viction of its truth.*"

Should this assertion be true, I would at once give up the matter in dispute: but as Mr. Clarkson has been so very uncandid, in his manner of laying before his readers the View, which he promised them, of the History of Slavery, in the ages before the establishment of Christianity, I
 may

may be permitted to doubt if he has been more faithful in the account he has given us of it since that period.

We are to learn the doctrine of Christianity from its own positive precepts, and from the practice of its first and most zealous professors, the apostles, martyrs, and confessors. In the first place, let me ask Mr. Clarkson, where there is to be found, in the New Testament, a single precept, or even a recommendation to any of the converts to Christianity, to give freedom to their slaves? On the contrary, does not Our Saviour himself speak of the condition of lord and slave without disapprobation? *Matth. 25. Luke 20*: and in the former parable, he shews the lord executing judgment on the unprofitable slave. So far are the apostles even from being silent on the occasion, we find precepts and instructions given to slaves, repeatedly, to be obedient to their masters. They are exhorted, not to assume upon themselves, or to slacken their service, because their masters are their brethren in Christ, but rather to be more diligent than before their conversion. *Eph. c. 5. v. 6. Col. c. 3. v. 22. 1 Tim. c. 6. v. 1, 2, 3. Tit. c. 2. v. 9.* When these passages are compared with *St. Paul's Ep. to Philemon*, will not the comparison shew Mr. Clarkson, and not his opponents, to have strained the passage alluded to in that epistle? Nor is there the least reason,
from

from any part of it, to suppose, that *Oenefimus* was not a slave when he returned, or was sent back, to his master by St. Paul. Is not the letter expressly said to be written from Rome by *Oenefimus*, a *servant*. Nay, more, the nature of his service is described; for tho', in the letter, he is called *δουλος*, a *servant* or *slave*, yet, in the direction of the letter, it is said to be sent by *Oenefimus*, *οικατος*, an *house servant*. There is nothing in the scripture to induce one to believe, that *Oenefimus* was not kept by his master as a slave after his return; nor, that he was a minister of the gospel: neither does it appear, that he might not have been a slave, and a minister of the gospel also*. Upon how very slight grounds, then, does Mr. Clarkson venture to assert, that he was joined in an ecclesiastical commission to the Colossians with Tychicus! It is true, the epistle, sent by St. Paul to those members of the Christian church, is said to be sent by, or entrusted to the care of, Tychicus and *Oenefimus*. The former is stiled (*chap. 4. v. 7.*) a beloved brother, a *faithful*

* The equality among men, in the sight of God, so earnestly recommended by St. Paul, had nothing to do with their temporal state; so that when, in preaching to his disciples, he told them, that, in the scheme of the gospel, there was neither bond nor free; that *ο δὲ ταπεινὸς κυρίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐλευθερία*; spiritual freedom alone was meant. Compare 2 Cor. iii. 17, with vi. Eph. v. 9. Gal. chap. iv. Deut. 10, 17. 2 Chron. 29, 7. Job 34, 19. Acts 10, 34.

minister,

minister, and a fellow servant, in the Lord. Oeneseimus is only called (*v. 9.*) a faithful and beloved brother. He was not then even a minister: and so far was he from being bishop of Ephesus, the contrary is evident from the address of the second epistle to *Timothy*, which declares him (*Timothy*) to have been the first bishop of *Ephesus*: and this second epistle was not written by St. Paul to Timothy, until Paul had been carried before *Nero* the second time; and *Nero* reigned 68 years after the Christian era: so that, so far was *Oeneseimus* from having ever been bishop of Ephesus, it does not appear that he out-lived Timothy. Indeed, I do not remember to have seen his name mentioned in any future part of the New Testament. If Mr. Clarkson had any proofs of these bold assertions of the freedom, or episcopal functions, of Oeneseimus, or any account of him, save what appears in the epistles of St. Paul, he would have done well to have produced them, instead of upbraiding "*the Receivers* with their ignorance of historical facts:" for however highly he may esteem himself, people will not implicitly rely upon the bare assertions of a young man for proof, especially when the former part of his Essay has given them so much reason to suspect him of great want of accuracy, to say the least of it. As Mr. Clarkson has not produced, nor, I trust, can produce, any express command,

command, from Christ or his apostles, which forbids Christians to hold their *brethren* in *slavery*, but, on the contrary, the scriptures contain express precepts, directing slaves how they should demean themselves in obedience to their *lords*, their *brethren in Christ*, let us see if the practice of the primitive Christians warrants Mr. Clarkson's assertion, that it was the influence of the Christian religion which caused the *abolition* of *slavery*? Aware, as Mr. Clarkson is, " that the
 " Christian religion, among the many important
 " precepts which it contains, does not furnish us
 " with a single one for the abolition of slavery," he tells us, " the reason is obvious : slavery, at
 " the time of the introduction of the gospel, was
 " universally prevalent; and if Christianity had
 " *abruptly* declared that the millions of slaves
 " should have been made free, who were then in
 " the world, it would have been universally
 " rejected, as containing doctrines that were
 " dangerous, if not destructive, to society." It is rather a sturdy assertion, on the part of Mr. Clarkson, to declare, that such *political motives* occasioned the primitive Christians to refrain from preaching against a practice, which Mr. Clarkson has *now* ventured to pronounce " the *most impious*
 " ever established among men; contrary to reason,
 " justice, nature, the principles of law and government,

“vernment, to the whole doctrine, in short, of
“natural religion, and the revealed will of God.”

Though it is not to be supposed any person will suffer themselves, for a moment, to be seduced by such an argument, to imagine that the holy apostles, martyrs, and confessors, who boldly preached against the false religion of the nations amongst whom they resided, and who braved death and torments, rather than offer sacrifice to the idols of the heathen, would hesitate to preach against every species of impiety then prevalent in the world, under an idea, that, to convert people to Christianity, it was necessary to indulge them in a continuance of the *most impious practices*. Yet, if such timidity, or time serving compliance, in the apostles, could be allowed, or justified, so far as to have permitted them to avoid a public reprobation of the heinous crime of keeping their fellow creatures in bondage, is it possible to believe, that they would have omitted directing their disciples and converts to have emancipated their slaves, instead of exhorting, as they have done, such slaves to shew the purity and excellence of the religion they professed, by their exerting a greater degree of diligence in the discharge of their servile duties, and shewing themselves more faithful and obedient to their masters, whether Christian or Pagan? If even the cowardly and pitiful excuse of continuing to hold their brethren in slavery
for

for fear of alarming the unconverted, and drawing on themselves the wrath of the magistrate, should be allowed, before Christianity became the prevailing religion of the empire, and protected by the laws, would such a political motive have been suffered to prevail afterwards. If slavery was not, for such reason, *abruptly* to be declared unlawful, was it never to be declared so, until the eighteenth century? and would it be possible, that there should not remain a single instance on record, of the primitive Christians having declared the holding people in slavery to be unlawful? or even of their having expressed the least doubt concerning it? But, that we may not press too close upon Mr. Clarkson, I will not insist upon the conduct and precepts of Saint Paul, and the immediate successors of Christ and his apostles, but will hasten to the period above hinted at,

* Surely it might, in some degree, avail our argument, as to the lawfulness of slavery, if we could only urge, that it is not forbidden, the apostle to the Romans having laid it down as a positive maxim, that where no law is there is no transgression; *Ep. to the Rom. c. 4. v. 15*. It is also worthy of observation, that it appears, from the very famous letter of *Pliny to Trajan*, respecting his proceedings against the Christians, that he had put two female slaves to the torture, who were said to administer in the religious functions of the Christians. These women are supposed to have held the office of deaconesses, in like manner as *Phoebe*, mentioned by St. Paul, held a similar office in the church of *Chencraea*.

when

when the church became triumphant; observing only, by the way, that it is well known, before Dioclesian was prevailed upon by Galerius, to consent to the persecution of the Christians, he favoured them to a great degree; and we learn from *Lactantius*, that the principal *eunuchs* of that emperor, with his other officers and their wives, their children, and their *slaves*, enjoyed the free exercise of the Christian religion; which is a proof of the Christian masters possessing slaves in the beginning of the fourth century. In the fourth century, when the civil authority gave its sanction to the Christian religion, during the reign of *Constantine*, and his successors, we learn from the *Indictions*, that the *census*, made to ascertain the proportion each individual was to pay of the tribute to the emperor, obliged every person to give an accurate account of the number of *his slaves*, among other particulars of his wealth. The *Abbé Reynal*, indeed, by condemning the law of the emperor *Constantine*, which, he asserts, gave freedom to all slaves who should become Christians, would induce one to believe, that he imagined there was such a law; but, as I have not been able to discover any such, and as that writer quotes no authority in support of his assertion, we surely are not bound to rely on so fallacious a testimony. *Eusebius*, in his life of *Constantine*, speaks, indeed, of a law, made to restrain the authority

thority usually exercised by Jews over their Christian slaves, which may have led the *Abbé* into the mistake*. That gentleman's entertaining work abounds with fanciful assertions, which are by no means to be trusted: and as he does not tell us, from what author he receives the account he gives us of many particulars in the description of several parts of the East and West Indies, in which he has suffered himself to be imposed on, the blame lies at his own door. Mr. Clarkson too, has thought proper to conceal the names of those persons by whom he has been deceived, and induced to propagate a great many calumnies against the West Indians, in regard to their treatment of slaves. He must, therefore, be content to pass for the inventor of such stories, unless he gives up his informants to the scorn and contempt they merit. But to proceed in the enquiry as to the

* The forehead had usually been the part on which fugitive slaves were stigmatized with a red-hot iron. This practice continued till the time of this Emperor, who interdicted this branding on the face. After this decree the stigma was removed to the badge, which they wore as a punishment for their elopement. The inscription on the collar fixed about their necks (and commonly of brass) was to this effect:

“ Tene me quia Fugi
Et revoca me Domino mee
Bonifacio Linario.
Anno Christi Ω X.”

*Pignorius de Stat. Serv.
conduct*

conduct of the Christians in the fourth century. Towards the latter end of it, we learn, from the fourth volume of *Fortin's* remarks on ecclesiastical history, that Constantinople was full of Christian slaves; who were continually engaged in religious controversy. In the beginning of the fifth century, no less than forty-thousand slaves, who were held in bondage by *the Christians of Rome*, sought refuge in the camp of Alaric, the Goth. In the latter end of the same century, the *Catholic* Christians were made slaves of by Genferic, who was an *Arian*.

After the conversion of *Clovis*, during his reign, and those of the kings of the Merovingian race, his successors *, “ it is well known, the trades, the
 “ arts of husbandry, and even the hunting and
 “ fishing for the supply of the tables of the kings
 “ and nobles, were all exercised by *slaves*. And
 “ the death of Charlemaign, and the decay of his
 “ family, increased the slavery of the plebeians,
 “ whatever professions of Christianity were then
 “ made by the lords. Under the Merovingian
 “ kings, their subjects might alienate their personal freedom; and it was then common for the
 “ poor to seek to preserve their lives by that
 “ sacrifice; their example was frequently followed
 “ by the feeble and devout, who sought pro-

* *Childeric*, the last king of that race, reigned *anno*, 742.

“ tecton, or salvation, by a submission to power-
 “ ful temporal or spiritual lords. Such hasty and
 “ improvident steps, fixed irrevocably the fate
 “ of themselves, and their posterity.” Notwith-
 standing the yearly, and almost daily, conver-
 sion of whole nations to the Christian religion,
 the laws and manners of all Europe, for five cen-
 turies, from Clovis, tended to promote the in-
 crease, and confirm the duration, of personal
 slavery.

I have now given a view of the history of slavery in
 as concise a manner as in my power, from the time
 of the first preaching the gospel, to nearly the period
 when Mr. Clarkson has thought proper to assign
 so much efficacy and influence to the Christian re-
 ligion ; forgetting, I suppose, his having told us,
 (*Essay*, p. 39) “ that this influence could not fail
 “ of having its effect on those who *first* embraced
 “ Christianity, from a conviction of its truth *.

Mr.

* As a further proof how little efficacy the Christian reli-
 gion had on the minds of its professors, in this century, we
 refer the reader to the history of the *Celts*, by *Chiniac*. tom.
 4. p. 59. where they will find the following passage.

“ A l’égard des Germains, d’un coté ils offroient a leur
 “ *Odin*, les prisonniers qu’ils faisoient a la guerre. De
 “ l’autre, ils immoloient leurs propres esclaves. Le dernier usage
 “ à même existé, jusqu’à dans le huitième Siecle. C’est
 “ alors qu’on voyoit des Chrétiens vendre leurs esclaves aux
 “ barbares quoiqu’ils n’ignorassent pas, que ceux-ci les
 “ achetoient pour les sacrifier a leurs dieux.”

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This consideration induced Mr. Clarkson, I suppose, to shift the ground he first stood upon, (the influence of Christianity on its *first* professors) and dash on through so large a space of time as 1100 years, to that era of folly, guilt, and fanaticism, the time of the Croisades “which procured that general liberty, *at last*, which, at the close of the twelfth century, was conspicuous in the *west* of Europe.” *Essay*, p. 40.

Before we enter upon the consideration, how far the *Croisades* were the occasion of emancipating a great number of slaves, and if so, whether such emancipation was occasioned by religious motives, it may not be improper to remark, that it appears from scripture, the apostles, and all the primitive Christians, expected the end of the world, and the second coming of Our Lord, before that generation was extinct; and when the expectation of the speedy appearance of Christ ceased, which was pretty generally prevalent even so late as the third century, when the authority of *Origen* contributed to bring it into discredit, it was still supposed, the end of the world was only postponed for one thousand years; and it is

the master was punishable. This constitution is entitled, *De emendatione fervorum*, and is well worth consulting with what Gothofred has collected upon it. Lib. 9. Tit. Lex Unica. v. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, Title Servitude, p. 435. et Seq.

worthy

worthy observation, while this belief operated so powerfully on the minds of the first converts, as to induce "those, who had land and houses, to "sell them, and bring the price of the things "that were sold, and lay them at the apostles "feet," yet we read of none of them either selling or emancipating their slaves, which they certainly would have done, had they considered the holding them in bondage to be unlawful; nor would the sacrifice have been great, considering how very little value they were of about that time.* As religious motives had no influence on the professors of Christianity, to liberate their slaves, during the three first centuries of the church, there could be very little hopes of such an event afterwards; because, from that time, the corruption of manners, which disgrace Christianity and its professors, continued increasing in a most shameful degree. In the *east*, the dissensions and quarrels among the bishops and doctors of the church, threw the state into confusion. In the *west*, the clergy abandoned themselves,

* *Plin. in Lucul. p. 580*, tells us, that the value of a slave was so low, as that, in Lucullus's camp, a slave sold for 4 *Drachmæ*, about 3*s. sterling*. And the elder Pliny speaks of a freedman of *Augustus*, *Claudius Isidorus*, who possessed upwards of four thousand slaves, notwithstanding he had lost great numbers in the civil wars. *Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 10. Mœurs. de Lux. Rom.*

without restraint, to their passions and their lusts. Luxury, gluttony, hunting, and military exercises, were indulged in, and pursued, without shame or remorse. Ignorance and superstition are almost inseparable. As the assigned period of the 1000 years drew near, (that is about the end of the 8th century,) an opinion prevailed, that the punishment, threatened by the ministers of the Deity, to those who transgressed his commands, might be prevented by liberal donations to God, or his saints, or (which means the same thing) to the church and clergy. In consequence of this opinion, those who, by violence, rapine, and every abominable crime, had amassed great riches, parted with a considerable share of them to the priests, to procure forgiveness of their delinquency, and make an atonement for their iniquities. The donations, upon this account, made to bishops, churches, monasteries, &c. were not only of money, jewels, or such other riches as every private citizen may have a right to enjoy or dispose of at pleasure, but also whole provinces, cities, and castles, with all rights and prerogatives, and including the vassals and slaves enjoyed by their former masters; and the clergy always caused one of the considerations of these enormous grants to be expressed to be *pro salute animi, pro amore Dei*, or some such valuable motive. It is not improbable that political views might have had

had some weight with Charlemagne, and his successors, to induce them to make such grants. They might perhaps have hoped and expected, that such spiritual feudatories might, out of gratitude to their benefactors, be more inclined to obey and assist them, than those temporal lords, whose estates they had seized, and confiscated, for former acts of disloyalty or rebellion. As the riches of the church increased, the ignorance and vicious conduct of the priests increased in proportion. If, in the ninth century, *Alfred the Great* had reason to complain, “ that, from the Humber to the Thames, there was not a priest who understood the liturgy in his mother tongue, or who could translate the easiest piece of Latin; and that, from the Thames to the sea, the ecclesiastics were still more ignorant;” what shall we say of the century next following, when it appears, from indisputable authorities, that they were sunk into an ignorance the most brutish and barbarous.* The corruption of the manners of the clergy was deplorable beyond all expression.† They were, for the greater part, composed of a most worthless set of men; shamefully illiterate, stupid, and ignorant, more especially in religious matters; equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition; and capable of

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* *Du Boulay. Hist. Acad. Paris, t. 1. p. 288.*

† *Lud. Ant. Muratorii Ant. Ital. Med. Ævi. t. 3. p. 83.*
t. 2. p. 141.

“ the most abominable and flagitious deeds.”*
 The infamous characters of the pontiffs, who filled the papal chair till the time of *Sylvester the Second*, will too strongly prove the guilt and degeneracy of the clergy in that century, to render any further description of them necessary.

“ The fears of purgatory, which the clergy
 “ endeavoured to augment by their preaching,
 “ and the apprehensions of the day of judgment, which the people expected, from what
 “ is said in the 20th chapter of the *Revelations*,
 “ about the 1000 years being at an end, for which
 “ Satan was bound, who was then to be loosed for
 “ a season, prior to the *millennium*, or Christ’s thousand years reign upon earth, increased the apprehensions of the people, who imagined St.
 “ John had clearly foretold, that, after a thousand years from the birth of Christ, *Satan* was
 “ to be let loose from his prison, *Antichrist* was
 “ to come, and the destruction and conflagration
 “ of the world to follow these great and terrible
 “ events. Hence prodigious numbers of people
 “ abandoned all their civil connexions, and their
 “ parental relations ; and giving over to churches
 “ and monasteries, all their lands, treasures, and
 “ worldly effects, repaired, with the utmost precipitation, to Palestine, where they imagined
 “ that Christ would descend from heaven to judge
 “ the

“ the world. Others devoted themselves, by a
 “ solemn and voluntary oath, to the service of
 “ the churches, convents, and priesthood, *whose*
 “ *slaves they became*, in hopes the supreme judge
 “ would diminish the severity of their sentence,
 “ and regard them with a more favourable and
 “ propitious eye, on account of their having de-
 “ voted themselves as the slaves of his ministers.”*

Will Mr. Clarkson call such conduct religion ?
 Was this his Christian emancipation ?

“ It was the latter end of this century, the idea of
 “ the attack of the Mahomedan princes, who were
 “ masters of *Palestine*, was first conceived by pope
 “ *Sylvester the Second*, who wrote a letter, in the
 “ name of the church of *Jerusalem*; to the uni-
 “ versal Christian church; in which the Euro-
 “ pean powers were strongly exhorted and in-
 “ treated, to succour and deliver the Christians
 “ in *Palestine*. It was not, indeed, until the lat-
 “ ter end of the next century, that this plan was
 “ carried into execution.”†

We now come to that period, when the *de-*
scendants of the *first* Christians, at the distance of
 eleven hundred years, according to Mr. Clarkson,
 “ by engaging in the *Croisades*, and hazarding
 “ their lives and *fortunes* there, shewed, at least,
 “ an attachment to that religion.” *Essay*, p. 38.

“ This

* *Mosheim's Ec. Hist.* p. 419.

† *Id.* p. 385.

“ This army,” says *Mosheim, Ec. Hist.* p. 441. (speaking of the first Croisade,) “ was a motley
 “ assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, la-
 “ bourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys,
 “ girls, *slaves*, malefactors, and profligate de-
 “ bauchees, and principally composed of the
 “ lowest dregs of the multitude, who were ani-
 “ mated solely by the prospect of spoil and plun-
 “ der. In the year 1096, 800,000 of these fa-
 “ natic miscreants were led, in two divisions, into
 “ *Asia*. The first, with the famous hermit *Peter*
 “ at their head, in their march through *Hungary*
 “ and *Thrace*, committed the most flagitious
 “ crimes, which so incensed the inhabitants, that
 “ they rose up in arms, and massacred the greater
 “ part of them.” *Maimbourg Histoire des Croi-
 sades; tom. i. liv. i. p. 57. et seq.* tells us, “ that
 “ there was no kind of insolence, injustice, im-
 “ purity, barbarity, and violence, of which they
 “ were not guilty. Nothing, perhaps, in the
 “ annals of history, can equal the flagitious deeds
 “ of this infernal rabble.”

Yet this era of vice, ignorance, superstition, and cruelty, is the time fixed on by Mr. Clarkson, in which, after it had been without efficacy for so many centuries, the *Christian religion* so effectually operated on its professors, as to make them manumit their slaves; and he hazards this assertion, without having the slightest authority so to do.

Historians

Historians tell us, it was not till the latter end of the 12th century, that people began to manumit their slaves ; “ nor was the *jus vitæ et necis* restrained until that time :” *Robin. Hist. c. 12. v. 1. p. 272* : “ and even after such restriction took place, the life of a slave was deemed to be of so very little value, that a very slight compensation atoned for taking it away. If masters had power over the lives of their slaves, it is evident no bounds would be set to the rigour of the punishments which they might inflict upon them. The cruelty of these were, in many cases, excessive : slaves might be put to the rack upon very slight pretences.” The laws with respect to these points, are to be found in *Potgieffarus, lib. 3. ch. 7.*

“ They were not originally permitted to marry. Male and female slaves were allowed, and even encouraged, to cohabit together ; but this union was not considered as a marriage. It was called *contubernium* ; not *nuptiæ*, or *matrimonium*.” *Potgieff. lib. 2. ch. 2. § 1.* “ When this conjunction between slaves came to be considered as a lawful marriage, they were not permitted to marry without the consent of their master ; and those who ventured to do so, without obtaining it, were punished with great severity, and sometimes were put to death.” *Ib. § 12.* “ All the children of slaves were in the same condition

“ condition with their parents.” Those who are
 willing to convince themselves of the deplorable
 condition of slaves among the Christians at this
 period, I beg to refer to the celebrated historian
 above-mentioned, and the authorities he quotes.
 We particularly learn, from him, also, *p.* 277.
 “ that not slaves only were treated with rigour,
 “ but such was the spirit of tyranny which pre-
 “ vailed among the great proprietors of land,
 “ and so various were their opportunities of op-
 “ pressing those who were settled on their estates,
 “ that many freemen, in despair, renounced their
 “ liberty, and voluntarily surrendered themselves
 “ as slaves to their too powerful masters. This
 “ they did in order that their masters might be-
 “ come more immediately interested to afford
 “ them protection, together with the means of
 “ subsisting themselves and their families. Such
 “ surrender was called *obnoxio*; and in the
 “ forms of such a surrender, the reason given for
 “ it is, the wretched and indigent condition of
 “ the person who gives up his liberty. It was
 “ still more common for freemen to surrender
 “ their liberty to bishops or abbots, that they
 “ might partake of the security which the vassals
 “ and slaves of the church enjoyed, in conse-
 “ quence of the superstitious veneration paid to
 “ the saint under whose immediate protection
 “ they were supposed to be taken. These people
 “ were

“ were called *oblati*.” Surely this would be a proof, if there was no other, that religion had very little to do in the bestowing liberty upon slaves, when we find the bishops, churches, and monasteries, striving which should most increase the value and number of their estates, their *slaves*, and other riches ! At the time of the first Crusade, and for a long time before, the people were so alarmed with the idea of the world’s approaching dissolution, (an idea which the clergy took care not to discountenance,) that many of them made grants and oblations to the church, of lands, slaves, and other possessions ; and, in many of those grants, they declare the reason of their donations to be, “ *appropinquante mundi fine ;* ” “ *appropinquante mundi termino.* ” &c. and under these pretences, as well as other pious frauds, the churchmen accumulated immense estates, and prodigious numbers of slaves and vassals within their pale. True it is, the custom of enslaving prisoners of war, is said to have ceased in the 13th century ; but surely, in an age so vicious and ignorant, it is reasonable to suppose any thing else to have occasioned it, rather than motives of religion ; especially as the vassals of the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastic, were held in bondage as late as the 16th century : and the religious order of *Malta* still holds those unfortunate Mahomedans, who fall into their hands, in slavery.

“ During

“ During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,
 “ the number of slaves in Europe, employed
 “ their skill in the service of their masters. An
 “ absolute power of life and death was exercised
 “ by the Gallic lords; and when they married
 “ their daughters, trains of useful servants, chain-
 “ ed to the waggon, to prevent their escape,
 “ were sent as nuptial presents, into distant coun-
 “ tries.” *Gib. Rom. Hist. vol. 6. p. 360.*

The greater part of the inferior people in *France*, were reduced to a state of slavery at the commencement of the third race of their kings*; and though from superstition, (*not religion*) some people manumitted their slaves, and the considerations of such grants appear to have been very commonly, “ *pro remedio animæ*, or *pro redemptione animæ*”, these can only be considered as proofs of the power which the clergy had over the illiterate laity. The person who gave a manuscript to a church, even if it was the work of a profane author, gave it “ *pro redemptione animæ*.” *Murat. v. 3. p. 836.*

These arts of vicious and ignorant priests, persuaded the timid and superstitious to enfranchise their slaves, *pro salute animæ*, and at the same time to become themselves the slaves of the church, and for the very same reason. Thus, while some few were set free, for religious consi-

* Hugh Capet, the first king of the third race, reigned an. 987.
 deration,

deration, we are told, that the *oblati*, or voluntary slaves, of churches and monasteries, from mistaken ideas of Christian duty, became extremely numerous. These *oblati* consisted of three different species or classes. The first such as put themselves, and their effects, under the protection of a particular church or monastery, binding themselves to defend its privileges and property against every aggressor. *Robert. vol. 1. p. 325.* These were prompted to do so, not merely by devotion, but in order to obtain that personal security which arose from the protection of the church. These were rather vassals than slaves ; for sometimes persons even of noble birth, thought it prudent to procure the protection of the church in this manner. *Du Cange, voc. oblatus. vol. 4. p. 126. vol. 6. p. 477.* Others agreed to pay a tax, or quit rent, from their estates, and perform besides, certain stipulated services. The third, or last class, were such as renounced their liberty, and became slaves in the strictest sense of the word. These were called *ministeriales*, who *enslaved their bodies* (as some of the charters have it) *that they might produce the liberty of their souls.* *Pot. de st. serv. lib. 1. cap. 1 § 6. 7.*

How zealous the clergy were to encourage the opinion which led to this practice, will appear from a clause in a charter, by which one gives himself up as a slave to a monastery.—“ Cum sit
“ omni

“ omni carnali ingenuitate generosius extremum
 “ quod cumque dei servitium, scilicet, quod
 “ terrena nobilitas multos plerumque vitiorum
 “ servos facit, *servitus vero Christi* nobiles vir-
 “ tutibus reddit, nemo autem sani capitis virtu-
 “ tibus vitia comparaverit; claret pro certo, eum
 “ esse generosiores, qui se *dei servitio* præbuerit
 “ prouiores, quod, ego *Ragnaldus* intelligens,
 “ &c.” *Du Cange voc. oblati ut supra.*—Another
 says; “ Eligens magis esse *servus dei*, quam li-
 “ bertus sæculi, firmiter credens et sciens, quod
 “ *servire deo*, regnare est summaque ingenuitas
 “ fit in qua *servitus* comparabatur *Christi*, &c.”

Can stronger proofs than these be required, that
 neither the precepts or the practice of the Christian
 church, promoted the manumission or enfran-
 chisement of slaves? For though I do not pre-
 tend that, while the feudal system was preserved
 in its vigour, the enfranchisement of slaves was
 frequent, but, on the contrary, that laws were
 made to set bounds to its being so, as prejudicial
 to society, yet I insist that very different consid-
 erations than those arising from principles of reli-
 gion, were afterwards the causes of setting slaves
 at liberty. The true business and professed end
 of Christianity were, to release from spiritual
 slavery, those who were under the dominion and
 tyranny of sin; and to teach them, “ *in what-*
 “ *ever state or condition they were, therewith to be*
 “ *content.*”

"*content.*" It would have been extraordinary indeed, if it had opposed peoples giving up their temporal liberty, when, as we have before shewn, these people found it necessary, for their sustenance and protection, that they should do so. It is not to be wondered at, that, at the time when people thought such a conduct necessary, many should be found, who, so far from considering temporal liberty as a blessing, actually refused to be made free. Thus, we are told, that when *Louis* the Tenth, of France, issued the famous ordinance for the manumission of his slaves, many of them refused to accept the liberty which was offered. If it had been required by the Christian religion, that the professors of it should set free their slaves, how comes it that we do not find one person of piety recommend it as a general practice? The fact really is, that though there are many political reasons, why states and princes should oppose, as much as possible, the slavery of one part of their subjects to another, religion has nothing to do with the question. If absolute slavery (by which is to be understood the power of the master over the *life* of his slave) subsists in any country, it must be in the power of great and powerful men, even to levy war against their prince, or oppose the executive authority of the community; and therefore, by degrees, vassallage and slavery have disappeared in most of the more

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polished

polished parts of Europe; more perfectly in some, than in other kingdoms. Enfranchisement of villains seems to have been complete in England about the middle of Queen Elizabeth's reign—the last charters of that kind, which I have heard of, bear date in 1574. The abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions in *Scotland* took place but very lately; and the emancipation of those people, who were bound to work in the mines and salt-works of that country, only a few years since. Will any person pretend to say, that any of these latter acts arose from motives of religion? Vassallage still subsists in many parts of France and Germany, and in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and Dalmatia. In many other parts of Europe, it exists in all its rigour. In several of these places, the common people are as strictly slaves, as they were formerly in those countries where the severity of the feudal system has been since softened and relaxed; for it is not yet entirely abolished in any part of Europe—no, not even in England; witness the *courts baron*, *courts leet* (*lits de justice*), *fines*, *heriots*, *reliefs*, *quit rents*, &c. I do not, therefore, think I hazard much, in saying, that, so far was the Christian religion from tending to abolish slavery, that the arts and rapacity of the priests occasioned many more persons to be enslaved, than were set free from motives of conscientious piety; which latter could have very little

little influence, indeed, in the dark and ignorant ages preceding the Reformation, when many dignified clergymen could not repeat their *bre-viaries*. Even so late as the *fifteenth* century, it is said, that, when a Prince of *Anhalt* was consecrated Archbishop of *Magdeburgh*, he could not rehearse the Lord's Prayer in his native language.

Although I so positively deny, that the *Christian religion* was the *cause* of the enfranchisement of slaves, at the time of the *Croisades*; yet I must allow, it was, in some measure, the *consequence* of those paroxysms of folly and madness, with which Europe was afflicted, from time to time, for upwards of two hundred and fifty years. The voyages and travels of so many Princes and Nobles to Greece and Asia, where there still remained such traces of ancient arts, sciences, and magnificence, could not fail to have considerable influence on the manners of the barbarous people of the northern parts of Europe, and contribute to their civilization.

If any of the great feudal Chiefs, who led their followers to *Palestine*, were induced to emancipate their slaves from motives of religion, a man of candour would be more apt to impute such conduct to the influence of the *Mahomedan* than the Christian religion. We have sought, in vain, for any precept, or even recommendation,

in the latter, to direct or animate the Christian thereto; but it is well known to be the constant practice of *Mussulmen* to reward with liberty all slaves taken from *Christians*, who will embrace the religion of their Prophet.

The signal acts of generosity and heroism which were discovered in *Saladin*, and many of the Mahomedan Chiefs, could not but astonish such of the *Croisaders* as possessed any innate greatness of mind. They could not travel through so many countries, better cultivated and more civilized than their own, wherein there were so many useful manufactures, such advances towards wealth and refinement, without having their views enlarged, without wishing for similar enjoyments on their return to their respective homes, nor without reflecting, with regret, on the absence of those conveniencies, and those elegant amusements, which were not then attainable, except in the countries they had left. It was not long afterwards, in consequence of the emulation amongst those Princes and Commanders who had visited Palestine, and the knowledge they had gained there, that the first dawns of splendour and magnificence began to appear in the Courts of Europe, and which have gradually increased until the present period.

One effect of these strange fanatic emigrations, and which occasioned the enfranchisement of a multitude

multitude of villains, and even of whole communities, was the enormous expence of such voyages, by which many of the gentlemen who assumed the Cross were absolutely ruined. Many of those of the most superior condition, in order to raise money, disposed of their possessions for a small part of their value. Such of their vassals, who, by their industry, had possessed themselves of money, or who had interest enough to procure it, not only purchased their freedom, but, perhaps, the small farms on which they were settled. Princes and Nobles parcelled out and gave up their territories to communities, who could advance them, from time to time, small sums of money. Such of their vassals who would take upon them the *Cross*, (and many of them, on account of the severe exactions of their Lords, had no other resource,) were immediately received under the protection of the *Church*; and the heaviest anathemas were denounced against any who should dare oppose those who devoted themselves to such senseless expeditions. The riches which the commercial cities of Italy acquired, who furnished these immense armies with provisions and other necessaries, enabled them to increase those immunities which they had before obtained; and numberless were the cities, towns, and burghs, in other parts of Europe, which obtained from their Kings, Princes,

and superior Lords, immunities and franchises, which they were soon in a condition to augment. Many communities, enriched by commerce, were able to purchase charters of enfranchisement, by which every mark of servitude was abolished; and the persons resident in such communities obtained the title of *Burghers*, or *Freemen*, and were governed by magistrates of their own election, as we see them throughout Europe at this day.

The poverty of the great Captains, who returned from these distant expeditions, and their relish for the luxuries, with which, before their travels, they had been unacquainted, made them grasp at every means of obtaining money, or the means of acquiring them. Many private persons, and even slaves, profited from this new taste; but the churches, convents, and monasteries were the most considerable gainers upon these occasions. Immense were the estates, honours, and manors, with all the vassals belonging to them, which they obtained. But we shall search in vain for any charters of enfranchisement, given by any of these religious communities, to their numerous vassals: The discreet Ecclesiastics, on the contrary, kept them in subjection until nearly the time of Henry the Eighth.—Adieu.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

October 20th, 1788.

DEAR, SIR,

MY former letters contain a view of the history of slavery, until a period rather later than the time of the *Portuguese* discoveries; and I trust I have shewn, that *slavery* was not then entirely abolished in any part of Europe, and that it still exists in the north-eastern parts of that quarter of the globe, as well as over all Asia and Africa: consequently the *Portuguese* are not guilty of the *impiety* charged upon them by Mr. Clarkson for *reviving* it, and *first* carrying the *Africans* into slavery. But, before we proceed in our examination into the conduct of the *Portuguese*, and other nations concerned in the commerce of slaves, on the coast of Africa, and in America, may we not be allowed to expostulate a little with Mr. Clarkson, in the following manner?—Do you conceive, Sir, any individual, however highly honoured or distinguished, whatever knowledge or abilities he may possess, can possibly be justified in venturing to condemn, as *impious*, customs and usages which have had the concurrence of people of all nations, and of all religions, throughout the world, from the re-

motest antiquity? Nay, even if there was not such universal testimony in favour of the practice of slavery, can it be thought consistent with the modesty of a young student in an university, a candidate for holy orders, to set up his own private opinion, in a matter of such high importance, so considerable a branch of the national commerce, as that with Africa certainly is, in opposition to the judgment of the whole nation, who have *heretofore* thought the interruption of that trade, by any of the neighbouring European powers sufficient to authorize the entering into a war * for its maintenance and support—a commerce which not only the Commons of *Great Britain*, but the united voice of the King, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Representatives of the People, has repeatedly declared to be of *great national benefit*? If you, Mr. Clarkson, can think yourself of consequence sufficient to oppose your private judgment to that of the united wisdom of the nation, is it consistent with the slightest degree of decency, that, in allusion to the name given the miscreants who receive the goods stolen by pickpockets, housebreakers, highwaymen, and other robbers, you should venture to call the gentlemen who purchase negroes in the West Indies (under the sanction of British

* First Dutch war, 1664-5.

British acts of parliament) by the odious name of *Receivers*—forgetting, sure, that among such purchasers are my Lords the Archbishops, Bishops, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, who are members of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts? But, Sir! how will you, as a Christian, as a Minister of the Gospel, apologize to those persons you have dared to call *execrable men* (*Essay*, p. 154,)—to the Legislature, which has spent (you say *squandered away*) 300,000*l.* within twenty years, “in prosecution of an *impious commerce*, where *one hundred thousand* men must perish, before *one* useful individual can be obtained—a commerce, which occasions the groans of *one hundred thousand* men, annually murdered, to ascend the celestial mansions, and bring down that punishment which such enormities deserve?” (*Essay*, p. 252.) Rash and arrogant young man! how have you the confidence to attribute the hurricanes and tempests in the West Indies to the anger of God against the inhabitants of those islands, for possessing slaves; a practice you presume to anathematize, although you do not produce a single command of God by which it is forbidden, and although such practice is sanctified by the concurrent usage and approbation of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Fathers?

But,

But, to proceed on the enquiry into the charge against the *Portuguese*, and the other nations of Europe, who, imitating their example, have engaged in the African commerce, or (in the words of our *Essayist*) in the *commerce of the human species*—If it shall appear, that the Portuguese did no more than divert the course of the commerce of slaves from the *eastern* to the *western* coast of *Africa*—if it shall be probable (at least), if not evident, that Mr. Clarkson could not be ignorant of this fact—if it shall likewise be indisputably true, that Mr. Clarkson must have known that *his* account of the manner of carrying on the slave trade upon the coast of Africa is not consistent with fact, and that very different accounts are given of that traffic, in the very books from which he himself tells us he collected his information upon the subject—if it shall appear, that his assertions, respecting the treatment of slaves in the British colonies, are ill founded, and that it is even impossible that “the facts he has related can be compiled from the *disinterested accounts* of gentlemen both in the naval and military departments, and others, who have been long acquainted with America and the West Indies, all of whom,” he tells us (in the preface to his *Essay*, p. xxiv.) “have coincided in the minutest manner in their descriptions”—

what will the world think of this Mr. Clarkson, and of the motives of his conduct?

If the accounts given by gentlemen best acquainted with the colonies, if those transmitted by his Majesty's Governors, if the laws by which the slaves in the West Indies are governed, all which are to be seen in the Plantation Office at Whitehall, are to be depended on, we trust it will appear, that the Negroes in the British sugar colonies are treated with as much humanity "as ever slaves were in *Athens*, and that the "condition of such slaves is preferable to that "of a *free citizen* in most other countries."

What has been said before, we are inclined to believe, will satisfy most impartial persons, that, in very remote ages, numbers of Negro slaves have been furnished from the interior parts of Africa, and from its eastern coasts, to Egypt, Anatolia, Persia, and India, and even as far as China. Mr. Clarkson himself speaks of a colony of Negroes settled at Colchis, "part," says he, "of the *Ethiopian* army under *Sesostris*." I conceived, from the authority of Herodotus, whom Mr. Clarkson quotes, that Sesostris led an Egyptian army into India, and therefore I was induced to conclude this detachment of Ethiopians settled at Colchis was a part of those people, subdued and enslaved by him; it having been common, in ancient times, for the conquerors

querors to remove the inhabitants of the conquered countries into the more distant parts of their dominions, as is evident from the treatment of the Jews by their respective conquerors.

Although our knowledge of the commerce and customs of the interior inhabitants of Africa, prior to the time of the *Portuguese* discoveries, is not very extensive, yet we learn, from the travels of two Mahommedan merchants in the *ninth* century, that a trade had been long carried on between Arabia, India, and China; which sufficiently shews, that the Negroes found in that part of the world were carried there from the eastern coast of Africa. In the travels of *Benjamin de Tudela*, in the twelfth century, he speaks of a country of Ethiopia called *Afvan*, twenty days journey through the Deserts of Saba, on the river Pison, whose inhabitants are subject to the Emperor of Abyffinia. “ When the people of
 “ Abyffinia make their expeditions into these
 “ parts, for the sake of plunder, and what they
 “ can carry away, they constantly take with
 “ them bread, rice, dried raisins, and figs. These
 “ they throw in large quantities among the half
 “ famished blacks, whom, while they scramble
 “ for them like dogs, they seize and carry away
 “ prisoners, and sell them in Egypt, and other
 “ countries. These are the Negroes, or black
 “ slaves, the posterity of Ham.” Such is the
 account

account of *Benjamin de Tudela*, (*Har. Voy. vol. i. p. 852.*)

The acquaintance we have since had with these people shews us, that they are not quite so brutish and ignorant as that author represents them; yet his account is a sufficient proof, that the carrying away, and selling them, from the eastern coast, and the interior parts of Africa, was practised *long before the Portuguese discoveries.*

The authors of the *Universal History* *, in their account of Egypt, mention the great decay of the commerce of that country, occasioned by the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope; but they speak of the ancient trade still existing, carried on at Rosetta, and between that place and Constantinople, and Salatia in Anatolia, consisting of white and *black slaves*, of both sexes, which are yearly sold or exchanged in prodigious numbers; the former of which are brought to Egypt from those two cities, and the latter sent from thence to them. —the greater part of the latter which are seen, whether males or females, not only in the Seraglio, or in the city or suburbs of Constantinople, but also in all Turkey, being conveyed thither from Egypt. Another branch of their former traffic is preserved, *viz.* that with Abyssinia

* *Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 233.*

finia and Nubia, which trade with Egypt by means of caravans; there being scarcely a year in which one or two of these caravans do not arrive at the metropolis of that country, laden from these parts, not only with gold dust *, musk, amber, and variety of rich gums, but some thousands of *black slaves*, which are sold in Egypt (one with another) for between eighty and one hundred crowns.

The same authors †, in speaking of the modern history of *Morocco*, inform us, that they send large caravans to Guinea, consisting of many thousand camels, on which they carry salt, cowries, woollen and silk manufactures, oil, &c. which they exchange with the Negroes for gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and *Negro slaves*.

The same commerce is carried on from Tripoli, and the other States of Barbary, as appears from the remarks of *Monf. de Brue*, whose voyages and travels along the western coast of Africa are contained in *Astley's Collection*, (vol. ii. p. 74, 75.)

The

* Savary, in his *Letters on Egypt* (vol. i. p. 106.), says, "The sequins coined at Cairo are made of the gold dust supplied by the caravan of Abyssinia, which, the Master of the Mint there assured him, annually brought more than 166,666l. Sterling."

† Vol. xviii. p. 101.

The foregoing observations are irrefragable proofs, that the trade from the interior parts of Africa, and the eastern coast, was carried on long before the time of the Portuguese discoveries; and these proofs being contained in the very book Mr. Clarkson has quoted, he could not be ignorant of it; and therefore he must have known, that the Portuguese, in consequence of their discoveries, only diverted the course of this traffic to the south-west parts of *Africa*; or rather opened new markets for the commerce of the same commodities, among which *slaves* were a principle article, to the great advantage of the free inhabitants of those parts of that continent.

The next branch of the task I have undertaken is, to shew, that Mr. Clarkson could not be ignorant, that the account he has given, of the trade carried on by the European nations on the African coast, is not conformable to the truth. This will be evinced, not only from the very authors he has quoted, but from his own account; the inconsistency of which will entitle us to apply to him that maxim of law, which says, "*Allegans contraria non audiendus est.*" But, before I enter upon the proofs of this particular, it may not be improper to remark upon some other parts of Mr. Clarkson's assertions. He says †,

" That

† Essay, p. 56.

“ That mankind were originally *free*, and possessed an *equal right* to the soil and produce of the earth ;” and, for the proof of this, he refers us to the Divine Writings, to the Golden Age of the poets, &c. Assertions are easily made ; but we should have been thankful to Mr. Clarkson if he had condescended to have given us proofs. Surely the contrary appears from *Scripture* ! Had not Noah claimed a superiority over his children, he would not have had a right to pass so severe a sentence upon Ham and his descendants ; and had not the Almighty approved of that claim, he would not have permitted such sentence to have had its effect. I defy Mr. Clarkson to shew from *Scripture* any traces of that *equality* among mankind, of which he affects to boast.

As to his other authority, the poetical description of the *Golden Age*, it is much at his service—*Valeat quantum, valere potest*. “ The state of dissipation and independence, which is alone reconcilable to the description of all early writers *,” is such a state of savage uncultivated nature, that we have not the least doubt Mr. Clarkson would prefer the poorest Welch curacy to all the advantages he could possibly find in it,

Not-

* Essay, p. 57.

Notwithstanding the elegance of his verse, what does the description by Ovid †, of this boasted state of *dissociation* and independence of mankind, in the *Golden Age*, amount to, but that they lived without government or laws, without labour, and without the knowledge of any of the arts of society, upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, such as the mast of the oak, beech,

† *Auræ* prima fata est ætas, quæ vindice nullo
Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
Pæna, metusque aberant : Nec verba minacia fixo
Ære legebantur ; nec supplex turba timebant
Judicis ora sui ; sed erant sine vindice tuti.
Nondum cæsa suis, peregrinum ut viseret orbem,
Montibus, in liquidas Pinaus descenderat undas ;
Nullaque mortales, præter sua littora, norant.
Nondum præcipientes cingebant oppida fœssæ :
Non tuba directi, non æris cornua flexi,
Non Galeæ, non ensis, erant. Sine militis usu,
Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.

Ipsa quoque immunis rastroke intacta, nec ullis
Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus :
Contentique cibis, nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos sætus, montanaque fraga legebant
Cornaque, et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes.
Vir erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.
Mox etiam fruges tellus inarata ferebat :
Nec renovatus ager gravidis canebat aristas
Flumina jam lactis, jam flumina nectaris ibant :
Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

OVID. METAM. lib. i. p. 8.

bee, and other trees; that they sometimes regaled upon straw-berries and black-berries; and perhaps, now and then, were lucky enough to find an honeycomb in a hollow tree, which we may naturally imagine was a luxury, for which they would bite and scratch one another. And indeed, as they had no distinction of property, and probably there were, in a plentiful year, as many *acorns* as they could all eat, there seems scarcely any other cause of quarrel among them, unless they should happen, now and then, to fight about their females. As to the *eternal spring*, and the *rivers of milk and nectar*, we imagine Mr. Clarkson does not suppose the weather was better, or those rivers more frequent, than at present; so that, whether they had them in plenty, or none at all, they could be no reasonable subjects of dispute.

That men may, from vice, from accident, or misfortune, have degenerated into savages, is probable; but that they could have been formed so, or have been placed in so miserable and helpless a situation, by their Creator, requires the *credulity of an infidel* to suppose: and, as Mr. Clarkson has now taken holy orders, and consequently declared his belief in the Scriptures, we may reasonably hope he will prefer the history given by them of the origin of mankind and society, to that

that of the early writers upon those subjects to whom he alludes.

If Mr. Clarkson should *now* believe the *Scriptures* to be the *word of God*, he may perhaps consider Dean Paley's supposition not so *very absurd* *,
 " That no social compact ever was made in fact,
 " and that it is to suppose it possible to call savages out of caves and deserts, to deliberate
 " upon topics which the experience and studies
 " and the refinement of civil life alone suggest ;
 " therefore no government in the universe began from this original †." If this conclusion of Mr. Paley, or if the *Scriptures*, be true, Mr. Clarkson, perhaps, will appear not to have been very exact, " in tracing the situation of man,
 " from unbounded liberty to subordination ‡," which was not the thing he promised us ; for *that* was, to give us a concise view of the history of slavery : and we believe, that, " in carrying his
 " enquiries further, and considering who first
 " obtained the pre-eminence in the primæval
 " societies he speaks of, and by what methods
 " it was obtained," he will not be more happy in explaining the situation of the natives of Africa in their own country, nor the manner in
 which

* Essay, p. 66.

† Moral Phil. c. iii. p. 415.

‡ Essay, p. 61,

which the slave trade is carried on upon their coast.

Pere du Halde, in the Preface to his Dissertation on the History of China, makes the following observation :—

“ Quand le cœur se laisse une fois pre-occuper
 “ d’une passion, l’esprit est tout disposé a adop-
 “ ter les fables les plus ridicules, et a donner
 “ un air de verité a tout ce que est capable de
 “ decrier des personnes qu’on n’aime point, et
 “ qu’on a fait une merite de ne point aimer.”

This description appears to be exactly suited to Mr. Clarkson, who seems eager to abuse every person concerned either in the slave trade, or in the purchase or possession of slaves ; and, in his zeal against these people, he cares not how different one part of his story of their conduct is from another. He tells us, that the Africans, who are made slaves, consist, *first*, of those who are seized by the authority of their Prince ; *secondly*, those who are privately *kidnapped* by individuals ; *thirdly*, convicts, who (the sellers assert) have been found guilty of offences, and that the punishment is just ; and, *fourthly*, prisoners of war. With respect to these last, he tells us, “ That the African Princes, corrupted by the
 “ merchants of Europe, seek every opportunity
 “ of quarrelling with one another ; every spark
 “ is blown into a flame, and war is undertaken
 “ from



“ from *no other consideration than that of procuring*
 “ *slaves* : while the Europeans, on the other
 “ hand, happy in the quarrels which they have
 “ thus excited, supply them with arms and am-
 “ munition, for the accomplishment of their hor-
 “ rid purpose. Thus has Africa, for the space of
 “ two hundred years, been the scene of most ini-
 “ quitous and bloody wars ; and thus have thou-
 “ sands of men, in the most iniquitous manner,
 “ been sent into servitude.” In the very next
 page, Mr. Clarkson does not hesitate to introduce
 us to one of his friendly correspondents, whose
 name he (as usual) conceals, who informs us,
 that *not one in a hundred* of the slaves imported in-
 to the European colonies are either *convicts* or
prisoners of war.—Thus, after having told us,
 that wars are undertaken, at the instigation of
 the European merchants, for the *sole purpose* of
 taking prisoners, to sell them to these *impious*
 traders, he shews us, that their conduct, in that
 respect, is as weak as it is wicked ; and that these
 wars in no degree answer the purpose for which
 they are continually exciting them. The next
 charge is, that the persons privately kidnapped
 by individuals, and those seized by the authority
 of the Prince, compose *nine tenths* of *all* the Afri-
 can slaves ; which amount, he says, upon a *mo-*
derate computation (according to the text), to
 ninety thousand, but (according to the note) he

makes the whole amount, annually exported, *one hundred thousand*. "This," says he, "is an immense number, but easily credited, when we reflect, that thousands are employed for the purpose of stealing the unwary, and that these diabolical practices are in force, so far has European injustice been spread, at the distance of a thousand miles from the factories on the coast." Can any man of common sense attend to these different accounts, and not see the improbability, the folly, and the absurdity of them? After endeavouring to rouse the indignation of his readers against the merchants trading to Africa, by representing them as exciting the Princes of that country to engage in iniquitous and bloody wars, for the *sole purpose* of procuring slaves, Mr. Clarkson goes on to say, that *not one in an hundred* of those sold to the Europeans are convicts or prisoners of war. How few, then, must there be of the latter denomination, if, as he says (*p. 81. of his Essay*), "that, from the time in which the Europeans first intoxicated the Africans with their foreign draughts, no crime has been committed, no shadow of a crime devised, that has not been punished with servitude?" We shall, surely, be looked upon as making a very moderate estimate, and the Africans must be thought very free from vice, if we suppose only one half of the two kinds of slaves above mentioned (convicts

victs and prisoners of war) are of the first denomination, and sold on account of their crimes, real or pretended. There will not, in such case, of the whole exportation of one hundred thousand slaves, be more than five hundred procured by the wars, either excited by the *impious* Europeans, or those which arise from the quarrels of the African Princes among one another, which the Europeans have no part in fomenting. Should we, moreover, be inclined to dispute Mr. Clarkson's account of the number of Negroes annually exported from Africa to the European settlements in the West Indies, and insist, that there are not, *communibus annis*, more than half the number sent to all the European colonies, including those which the Portuguese send to the Brazils, the number of these prisoners of war will not amount to more than between two and three hundred; the whole value of which will not purchase three thousand musquets, and a proportional quantity of powder and ball. It is evident, however, from Mr. Clarkson's own account, that not more than one thousand slaves, of those exported in one year, to *all* the European colonies, are convicts, or prisoners of war. Let us next examine whether his account of the manner of procuring the remaining ninety-nine thousand is more probable than the former.

If the Princes of Africa can be so easily excited to make war upon each other, for the *sole purpose* of procuring slaves, a purpose too which, Mr. Clarkson tells us, (*Essay*, p. 97, 100, 250.) *seldom is answered*,—the cruelty of the Negroes prevailing over their avarice,—(a circumstance we should have imagined these Princes, in the course of two hundred years, would have found out, and in consequence left off so useless a practice,)—how comes it to pass, that *thousands* of unprotected *slave-merchants* should be permitted to travel, without molestation, through the countries of the contending parties, “to places so *amazingly* distant from the coast, that no person in that part of Africa where the ships lay (*Essay*, p. 122.) understands the language of the inhabitants?” These long journeys must, to a person of common apprehension, appear useless; because, if the authority of the Prince is sufficient to seize and doom his subjects to slavery, it seems probable these petty Princes would find it more for their interest, to pay for the goods they want, by delivering up such a number of their subjects as would be necessary, to the merchants, rather than go to war with a neighbouring tribe to procure them, at the hazard of losing five or ten times the number, in the attempt to obtain them; nay, it appears, that it would even be a benefit to their subjects themselves. Unless
these

these African petty tyrants have more virtue than one can easily imagine, from the accounts we have of them, one might be led to suppose, that they would sometimes seize these travelling merchants and their goods, and, by sending the merchants themselves to some of the various markets (Mr. Clarkson speaks of), and there selling them, at once make a double profit of the slave-merchant and his merchandize. This would certainly sometimes happen, either in going or returning, to those who travel through so many different countries, and to such distances, as Mr. Clarkson mentions, for the purpose of *kidnapping* Negroes. Is it to be believed, that Kings and Princes, whose authority enables them to seize and sell their subjects, would not prevent individuals from privately stealing or kidnapping them, when their sale would be so profitable to themselves? Would not the inhabitants of the countries, whose fathers, mothers, wives, children, or friends, had been seized by one of these *slave-hunters*, assemble themselves together, release the captives, and put the slave-hunters to death? Another difficulty, however, seems to arise, to prevent the African slave-trade being so conducted.—These *thousand* slave-merchants must have a large quantity of European goods to carry into these inland parts, which Mr. Clarkson indeed tells us they are furnished with, “ which
“ are

“ are divided among them, previously to their travelling into the heart of the country.” Can any person believe such people have goods distributed among them in this manner? The credulity of the factors, who should trust such men with merchandize, would be ridiculous, even should we suppose there was a regular police, and that travellers could pass with some degree of safety through the numberless petty states, and independent jurisdictions, which are said to be formed in the interior parts of Africa: And, if it takes seven months time for the traders to bring the slaves they purchase to the coast, how long must these factors attend before they receive payment for the goods they thus advance?

It is known; that, in order to travel with safety, in the northern and more civilized parts of that country, it is necessary people should unite themselves together; and therefore *caravans** are established, which regularly set out from Egypt, and the adjacent States of Barbary, to Mecca, as well as to the interior nations of Africa. Such mode of carrying on traffic is very ancient all over the East. For their protection and safety, these caravans are escorted by bands of armed men. The merchants themselves are all armed; and

* Astley's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 76. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 64, 219, 223, 234, 240, et seq.

and the caravan is conducted like an army, under the direction of a Commander, who acts with the authority of a General. Notwithstanding which, such caravans are often attacked, and sometimes defeated, and plundered, in their route. The caravans from *Tripoli* to *Tombut* are said generally to consist of one thousand armed men, mounted on camels and horses. They bring back about one thousand slaves in every such caravan, which, with gold dust, ostrich feathers, and drugs, constitute the returns for the merchandize they carry out with them. Besides the caravans which travel from the kingdoms and states bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, to the interior parts of Africa, we are told of others, which come twice a year to *Cairo**, and return to *Dangola*, crossing the Lybian desert, by *Ga-*
ri,

* *Christopher Furer*, describing this city (*Cairo*), in the year 1565, has these words:—"Not far from this street, blacks of both sexes, and different ages, are sold like cattle." *Hasselquist* also speaks of his seeing (December, 1750) black slaves sold in the same city—"they were brought (he mentions) from *Abyssinia*, *Ethiopia*, " and *Dangola*. The greatest part were women, almost naked." *English Translat.* p. 102. The same author, describing the procession of the annual caravan which goes from *Cairo* to *Mecca*, mentions an officer, called the Commissary of the Turkish Emperor, whose business it is to purchase slaves of both sexes, horses, jewels, &c. and informs us, that a part of the show consisted of a number of relay camels, adorned with ostrich feathers on their heads; and that on some of these camels black slaves were mounted. (P. 78.)

ri, a town on the Nile, four days journey north of Dangola, where the merchants from Sanaar, the capital of Fungi, or Fund, Gondar, the capital of Upper Éthiopia, and many other trading cities of Africa, meet, and form what is called the *Nubian Caravan*. Here they leave the banks of the Nile, and enter the above mentioned deserts, which takes them up thirteen days in crossing. On their arrival at the first town in Upper Egypt *, they pay their first customs to that country, and these customs consist of a certain number of *black slaves*. Notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of travelling in these countries, which appear from the necessity there is of thus uniting in large bodies, to be able to carry on their commerce with security, Mr. Clarkson would have us believe, “ that a number of black
 “ slave merchants, among whom a quantity of
 “ European goods have been previously distributed,” without arms, and without protection,
 “ attend the various markets that are established
 “ through so large an extent of territory, to
 “ purchase the *kidnapped* people, whom these
 “ slave-hunters are continually bringing in;
 “ while others, subdividing their merchandize
 “ among the petty Sovereigns with whom they
 “ deal,

* Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xix. p. 260.

“ deal, receive, by an immediate exertion of
 “ fraud or violence, the stipulated number.”

The improbability of these slave-hunters, and these merchants, *thus* procuring any considerable part of the *ninety-nine thousand* slaves, to be supplied by such means, and by the authority of the Prince, is full as great, as that they should be caught, while scrambling for bread, dried raisins, and figs, as related by *Benjamin de Tudela*: Nay, that story of *Tudela's* has the advantage, in point of credibility, over Mr. Clarkson's; as the *Jew* supposes the party, thus going out to catch the Negroes, strong enough to bring them away. There remains then, of all the modes by which Mr. Clarkson supposes the European merchants on the coast are supplied with slaves, but one, on which any rational faith can be placed, viz. *the authority of the Prince, whose subjects these people are.* It has been shewn, that this *commerce of the human species* (as our Essayist calls it) has existed, and that thousands of slaves, even of emasculated slaves, have been dispersed over the Turkish empire, over Persia, India, China, and the remotest parts of Asia, long prior to the Portuguese discoveries: that these slaves were used to be brought from the interior districts of Africa: that part of these people were sold in Fez, Morocco, Tripoli, Cairo, and other towns of Barbary and Egypt; other part was transported to Ormus
 and

and India, from Calicut and Mozambique. It is therefore but just to conclude, that the slaves were then obtained in exactly the same manner as they are at present. Whether the Princes of the country ever did, or do now, possess such an authority over their people, or any particular class of them, as Mr. Clarkson supposes, is very immaterial to us; but that they do not *exercise* such an authority on the western coast, we have abundant proofs: and, when we come to examine upon what grounds Mr. Clarkson has taken upon him to assert, that the Sovereigns assume such power in the interior parts of the country, we shall find, that they are too slight to place any reliance upon.

The written authorities Mr. Clarkson has quoted, to justify his charges against the merchants who trade to Africa, are, "*Astley's Collection of Voyages*," and the testimonies of *Smythe* and *Moore* (Englishmen), *Adanson* (a Frenchman), and *Bosman* (a Dutchman). The evidence of these writers are all, except *Adanson's*, united in *Astley's Collection*; and, in the same volume, are accounts of a number of *other* voyages, of which Mr. Clarkson takes no notice, nor even of such parts of the accounts of those he does refer to as seem to militate against *his purpose* of abusing the African merchant. Two of the gentlemen, whose authority Mr. Clarkson rests on (*Adanson* and *Moore*)

Moore) give no account but of the trade of the rivers *Senegal* and *Gambia*. *Bosman* was in *Guinea* in 1669. *Mr. Smythe* was sent to survey the coast in 1726, and *Moore* was in *Africa* no later than 1735; so that, if *Mr. Clarkson* had fairly cited his authors, so as to have given a true account of the slave trade, even as late as the time when *Mr. Moore* was there, it might, with great truth and justice, be said, that the same mode of traffic is not carried on now—great improvements have been made in the manner of carrying on that business. It is well known, that the inhabitants of the coast are become much more civilized than they were at that time. Civilization has ever been the consequence of that commercial intercourse of mankind, which, at the same time that it makes the inhabitants of one part of the globe acquainted with the desires and necessities of the other, teaches them mutually to find out the means to gratify and supply them. *Mr. Clarkson's* declared purpose, in his *Essay*, is to give a history of slavery to the time he wrote. His second chapter relates to the African commerce or slave trade: Surely he ought not, therefore, to have confined it to that part only which is carried on by the *Europeans*, and to the transportation of the *Negroes* to the *American colonies*; yet that is the only part of it he mentions, evidently to throw the blame of this commerce

(if

(if it be blameable), entirely on the European Christians. That it may appear the more reprehensible, he cites only such scraps, here and there, of the accounts which lay before him, as best suited *that part of his purpose*; omitting all those which he feared might convince his readers, that the truth was very different from the representation he has thought proper to make of it. If I clearly shew this to have been the case, the charge against Mr. Clarkson, of having wilfully accused the persons concerned in the African commerce, directly contrary to his better knowledge, will be fully made good.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER V.

October 29th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

THAT wars have always existed among the neighbouring petty States of Africa is not to be doubted. They spring from the same sources from which wars have originated in all other parts of the world. Most disputes arise from trifling causes, and, in general, both parties suffer sufficiently, if not equally, in consequence of them. They make peace, or rather truce, in Africa, as they do in Europe, with intent to go to war again, as soon as they find themselves strong enough, or that a fresh occasion of contest shall arise, which seldom is long wanting between neighbouring nations. It is not to be doubted, that prisoners are sometimes taken in these African wars; and, since the intercourse with the Europeans, many of these prisoners have been sold to them; and their lives have been *saved*, which otherwise would have been *sacrificed* to the *Fetiches* of the conquerors*.

The

* The following passage in Professor *Sparman's* Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, where he speaks of the *Caffres*, a people who never have been *contaminated* by any intercourse with the Europe-

The first account we have of any of their wars was about the middle of the last century, when we find, by our countryman *Battel's* account *, who was then with the Portuguese, that a barbarous savage nation, called by the name of *Gal-las*, or *Jagas*, which had spread itself all over Lower Ethiopia, made an irruption into *Benguela*. These people, who had never seen a white man before (so could not have made war for the sole purpose of taking prisoners to sell to the Europeans),

ans, who trade not with them, nor purchase any of their inhabitants, is a strong proof of the truth of my observation. He tells us, " They are said to be governed by several different Chiefs, who probably have all the property of their subjects vested in themselves, and, at the same time, have an absolute unlimited authority over them. As far as I could understand, their state and power are hereditary. It is said, they are frequently at war with each other, and that they *always* kill the prisoners they have taken. But if a Chief should happen to fall into the enemy's hands, he is not put to death, but sent back again, with admonitions, to behave himself more peaceably for the future. The occasion of their wars is generally the same as in other parts of the globe; to wit, either a want of the common sentiments of humanity in one of the contending parties, or their arrogant and rapacious disposition, which they cannot, on either side, persuade themselves to give up, without shedding their own blood, and that of their fellow creatures. It is even said, that a stolen or stray calf, or one grazing upon the territories of a neighbouring country, and other matters equally trifling, will sometimes be sufficient to set two or more nations by the ears." *Vol. ii. p. 153.*

* *Mod. Univ. Hist* vol. xvi. p. 11. et seq.

peans), did however sell them such prisoners, and at a cheaper rate than ever they had purchased any before. But that was not the *sole* manner of treating their captives: “ They cut
 “ off the heads of one hundred of the lords, or
 “ principal men, of those they had attacked,
 “ and threw them at their General’s feet; and
 “ the bodies of them, and of all their slain, were
 “ dressed and eaten by these canibals. The Ge-
 “ neral of these people consulted their idol upon
 “ every new expedition they made, and sacri-
 “ ficed a child and four men upon every such
 “ consultation. The same ceremony was per-
 “ formed by the inferior captains on the like
 “ account: they caused all their children to be
 “ buried alive as soon as born, and supplied their
 “ places by captives of twelve or thirteen years
 “ of age; the males of whom they bred to war,
 “ and kept the females for procreation. The un-
 “ happy remains of the captives of both sexes
 “ were inhumanly reserved to be killed and
 “ eaten; not in time of scarcity of cattle, or
 “ other provisions, but in preference to all other
 “ flesh. These people sacrificed slaves at the
 “ funerals of their dead, and prodigious num-
 “ bers at the funerals of their Princes or Gene-
 “ rals. *Three hecatombs* of each sex were sacri-
 “ ficed at the funeral of *Caliximbo* (who was as-
 “ sassinated for having been so humane as to re-

“fuse to drink blood, or eat human flesh), under
 “der pretence of appeasing the wrath of a for-
 “mer queen, who resented such a violation of
 “her laws.” Surely the *commerce of the human*
species, as the *Essayist* calls it, is not to be exe-
 crated, if it has put a stop to these horrid barba-
 rities. This custom was not peculiar to the *Fa-*
gas: but we learn, from different authors, that
 it was much lessened soon after the Europeans
 began to purchase slaves. *Le Brue* says *, “When
 “the King of *Bissao* dies, his favourite wives,
 “and a number of his slaves, are killed and bu-
 “ried near the place of his interment, to serve
 “him in the other world.” Immediately after,
 he adds, “Formerly they had a custom of sacri-
 “ficing or burying alive slaves, to accompany
 “their grandees in the other world; but this
 “custom seems to be abolished, the last King
 “having only one slave buried with him. The
 “present Emperor seems bent on entirely discon-
 “tinuing it. One of his nobles being old, and
 “near his end, had chosen three young girls to
 “be buried with him; but, at his death, the
 “King sold them, and gave the money to his
 “heirs.” This was in the year 1701, when a
 slave was sold for only a twentieth part of the
 present

* *Astley*, vol. ii. p. 99.

present price on that part of the coast *. This circumstance *could not be unknown* to Mr. Clarkson, as it is mentioned by the very author he quotes †. An observation of the same kind is made by *Barbot*. Surely this is a circumstance which would have induced a man of the smallest candour to have spoken with less invective of that commerce, which Mr. Clarkson brands with such ignominious epithets. When this gentleman, who undertakes to give *a view of the history of slavery*, is partial enough to suppress such a remarkable fact in his narration, may we not reasonably suspect him of exaggerating the description of others, better *suitèd to his purpose*, even though we should allow they may have some foundation in truth. He charges the European merchants with *instigating the inhabitants to make war on each other*. As he has not chosen to quote his authority for this assertion, nor to state the time when he supposes such practice prevailed, nor of what nation the accused merchants were, we may reasonably doubt the truth of it.

We

* In 1698, *Brue* says also, a male slave, between twenty and thirty, without defect, was sold *for goods* to the value of twenty livres. *Astley*, vol. ii. p. 70.

Le Maire, in 1682, tells us, the best slaves are purchased for eight *francs* (livres) each, and often you may have a substantial slave for four or five quarts of brandy. *Ib.* p. 252.

† *Astley*, vol. ii. p. 493.

We find no traces of such conduct in *Astley's* Collection, except that, in *vol. ii. p. 98.* he quotes *Monf. le Brue*, as saying, that “the Europeans
 “are far from acting as peace-makers among
 “them, which would be contrary to their in-
 “terest; since, the greater the wars are, the
 “more slaves.” But is it not rather straining
 the sense of this expression, to adduce it as a *proof*
 that these wars are incited by the Europeans;
 especially as we shall shew, that, although *Monf.*
le Brue conceived it to be advantageous to his
 commerce almost a century ago, Mr. Clarkson
 himself thinks he was mistaken in that point;
 because he says, that, in these wars, ten slaves
 are destroyed in captivating one; for, if the
 Prince has power and authority sufficient to seize
 and sell his subjects, the soldiers who are destroy-
 ed on both sides*, in the wars undertaken for
 the *sole purpose* of making prisoners, must be
 slaves. If Mr. Clarkson had wished to have
proved Monf. Brue mistaken, and that these wars
 are really very injurious to the commerce of the
 Europeans, he might, and probably would, have
 told us, that, in the same Collection, *vol. ii. p. 697.*
 we find, that, when *Vallault* was on the Gold
 Coast, in 1663, a war happened in *Akim*, “in
 “which 60,000 men were destroyed. This war,
 “which

* Essay, p. 250.

“ which continued four years, *entirely put a stop to*
 “ *trade.* The English, Danish, and Dutch Di-
 “ *rectors did all in their power to accommodate mat-*
 “ *ters; but in vain.*” In *Captain Phillips’s Voyage*,
 in 1693, in the same Collection, p. 308. we learn,
 “ that he received advice from *Dick’s Cove*, that
 “ he had best dispose of as much of his cargo as
 “ he could, before he came there; because there
 “ was no trade nor gold at that place, *by reason of*
 “ *the wars*, and no probability of procuring any
 “ number of slaves upon the Gold Coast.” In
Marchais’s Voyage, in the year 1725, *Astley*, vol. ii.
 p. 462. he says, “ The war being very hot between
 “ the Kings of *Whidow* and *Ardra*, had so inter-
 “ rupted the trade at the *Rio Volta*, that *no slaves*
 “ *were to be had.*” Thus, in opposition to the opi-
 nion of *Monf. Brue*, we find the traders of all the
 European nations agree, that wars among the
 African Princes are prejudicial to their com-
 merce; and that they *do* endeavour to act as peace-
 makers. It is also to be observed, that *Monf.*
Brue speaks of *Senegal*, from whence very few
 slaves come. *Akim*, and the other places men-
 tioned, are on the Gold Coast, from whence come
 great numbers, and of the kind that are most es-
 teemed: and we find, that the desire of the mer-
 chants, *to make peace* between the African nations,
 is not a late change in the nature of the com-
 merce, but was the joint effort of all the factors

Of all nations on the coast one hundred and twenty years ago. Nor is there any *necessity* for the Europeans to *excite* the Africans to quarrel, or go to war with each other. *Astley* does not leave us uninformed of the causes of their wars, which, as we before remarked, are exactly the same with those of the Princes of Europe*. “The
 “ Gold Coast nations often enter into a war with
 “ each other, out of ambition, to prevent a neighbouring Prince being too powerful or rich; from
 “ a desire of plunder, or to assist a weak neighbour; but the more common causes of the
 “ wars are, the recovery of debts due from the
 “ Cabosheers, or great men, of one country, to
 “ those of another. These Cabosheers and *Mam-feros* have always a number of people at their
 “ devotion, and induce the soldiers to join them;” yet it seems these Chieftans have very little authority, except over *their own slaves*; for “the
 “ soldiers, if they find themselves disappointed
 “ in the hopes of plunder, leave their officers,
 “ and return home.” The same author tells us, *contrary to Mr. Clarkson’s accounts*, “that, in these
 “ engagements in general, very few men are killed; for, as soon as they see a man fall by them,
 “ they take to their heels, and scamper home as
 “ fast as they can. In the last battle between
 “ the

* *Astley*, vol. ii. p. 696.

“ the *Kommanians* and those of *Sabu*, *Akkani*, *Ka-
 “ besterra*, and two or three other countries, *Bos-
 “ man* does not believe one hundred men were
 “ killed ; and yet the *Kommanians* drove their ene-
 “ mies out of the field, and obtained a complete
 “ victory.” Besides the above causes of their
 wars, the disputes of the chief people among
 them are sources of discord *. *Astley* tells us, in
 the same place, of a war between the Kings of
Fanti and *Sabu*, on account of a *Fantin Paris*
 having stolen an *Helen* from *Sabu*. Similar cau-
 ses of war must have been frequent among the
 Africans, long before the Europeans visited them,
 and would certainly continue, if no European
 was ever to approach their coast again. The on-
 ly difference would be, in that case, they would,
 as heretofore, murder and eat their prisoners of
 war, instead of selling them. It is but fair,
 however, to allow, that there have been wars oc-
 casioned by the European commerce, though not,
 as the Essayist asserts, for the sole purpose of ob-
 taining prisoners. I shall mention one or two of
 the most remarkable. That of the King of *Da-
 homy*, Mr. Clarkson must have been acquainted
 with, as *Snelgrave*’s account of it is contained in
Astley,

* In further proof of the civilization of the Africans, from their
 intercourse with the Europeans, the reader may consult the *Mod.
 Univ. Hist.* vol. xiv. p. 37.

Astley, vol. ii. p. 488. " This Prince demanded a
 " free passage through the territories of Whi-
 " daw," doubtless that he might enjoy a free
 commerce, " which was refused him. After
 " having conquered the kingdom of Ardra, which
 " lay between him and Whidaw, he attacked the
 " latter. In the conquest of Ardra, he took pri-
 " soner an Englishman, named *Bullfinch Lamb*,
 " who dissuaded Dahomy from invading Whi-
 " daw, as well on account of the great numbers
 " of the inhabitants, much used to fire-arms, as
 " of the assistance they would have from the
 " whites resident and trading there, for their own
 " interest."

Snelgrave, who was at the English factory at
 Whidaw, and, with the other factors, in great
 fear and perplexity, was one of the party on a
 visit to this Prince. " On their arrival at the
 " gate of the King's house, they saw the heads
 " of four thousand of the people of Whidaw,
 " who had been sacrificed to the God of the con-
 " querors about three weeks before, in acknow-
 " ledgment of their victory *." He next men-
 tions

* Bullfinch Lamb, in his letter to Governor Tinker, dated 27th
 November, 1724, says of this Prince, " He has already set his two
 " chief palaces round with *mens skulls*, as thick as they can lie on
 " the walls one by another, and are such as he has killed in war;
 " each of which palaces are in circumference larger than St James's
 " Park,

tions " eight hundred captives brought in from a
 " neighbouring nation, called *Tuffo*: part of whom
 " the King set aside to sacrifice to his *Fetiché* ; the
 " remainder he kept as slaves for his own use, or
 " to sell to the Europeans." The soldiers were
 paid for them in the shells called *cowries*, at the
 rate of twenty shillings for a man, and ten shil-
 lings for a woman, boy, or girl. " Some thou-
 " sands of dead peoples heads were brought in-
 " to the court, hanging on strings, for which the
 " officers, as they received them, paid the sol-
 " diers five shillings for each. He presented his
 " officers and courtiers with at least two hundred
 " captives. The brother to the King of Jaquin
 " was immoderately frightened at seeing a great
 " number of people going to be sacrificed ; for
 " *the people on the sea coast abhor such cruelty, but*
 " *above all eating the dead bodies.*" Thus it ap-
 pears, that, in the course of a very few years,
 merely from their intercourse with the Europe-
 ans, this infamous custom was not only put an
 entire stop to, upon the coast, but even held in
 abhorrence. The same author says, p. 488, " That
 " the people of Whidaw were so civilized by
 " commerce,

" Park, about a mile and an half round." *Smith's Voyage*, p. 173.
 and p. 186.—" That, when he went out, there was scarce any stir-
 " ring for bodies without heads ; and, had it rained blood, it could
 " not have laid thicker on the ground."

“commerce, that it was a pleasure to deal with
 “them.” This is a very different account from
 that given by Mr. Clarkson, *Essay*, p. 43. He
 there represents the natives on the coast as so far
 from being civilized by commerce, that they
 sought a retreat from their *invaders* in the interior
 parts of the country ;—instead of which, we see
 a very powerful Prince forcing his way to the
 coast, through hostile nations, in order to bene-
 fit by the commerce with these *European inva-*
ders *.

We are further told by Snelgrave † “ of the
 “sacrifice of numbers of men, women, and chil-
 “dren ; and of his remonstrating to a person
 “of condition among them, against the folly of
 “sacrificing so many people, whom they might
 “sell to advantage.”—He replied, “ It had ever
 “been the custom of their nation, after any con-
 “quest,

* *Snelgrave* observes, that he never could obtain any satisfactory
 accounts of the inland parts ; and that, although the Gold Coast
 Negroes be more civilized, by their converse with the Europeans,
 yet their policy does not suffer any *white man* to go up into the
 country.

The same may be said with regard to the third division of the
 country ; for, till the conquest of Whidaw and Jaquin, by the King
 of Dahomy, little could be learned of the inland parts, no white
 man being permitted to go beyond the kingdom of Ardrah, which
 is about fifty miles from the sea-side. *Astley*, p. 486.

"quest, to offer to their God a certain number of
 "captives, who were chosen from the prisoners
 "by the King himself; for they believed, that,
 "upon any omission of this, no more success
 "would attend them. He gave political reasons
 "for chusing *old men* for this purpose; among
 "others, because *no European would buy them*, on
 "account of their age." And I remember my-
 self once asking the Captain of a Guinea ship,
 upon seeing two or three very old people in his
 cargo, why he brought them? he replied, "he
 "did it from motives of humanity; for that he
 "offered the same price for those whom the mer-
 "chant on the coast was about to sell him, with-
 "out including these old folks, whom he did
 "not think worth their passage; but his chap-
 "man telling him, he might refuse them if he
 "pleased, but, in such case, he should imme-
 "diately cut their throats," the Captain of the
 Guineaman took them on board to save their
 lives. As to the young people which *Snelgrave*
 saw going to be sacrificed, his informant told
 him, "they were designed to attend, in the other
 "world, the King's wives, who had been slain
 "by the *Tuffos*. He afterwards saw the dead
 "bodies of those who had been sacrificed, to the
 "number of four hundred, and the next day
 "discovered they had been eaten by the com-
 "mon soldiers."

The same author mentions “an inland people,
 “ who travelled to the Gold Coast, whom he
 “ calls *Malays*. These people are also mention-
 “ ed by *Marchais* and *Smith**, whose voyages
 “ are abridged in *Astley’s Collection*. They are
 “ said to border on the Moors, to be versed in
 “ the arts of writing, dyeing, and manufactur-
 “ ing goat and sheep skins; but *Snelgrave* was
 “ not permitted to speak to them.”

These people must surely have come from the
 East Indies to the Eastern Coast of Africa, and
 from thence, across the continent, to the inland
 kingdom of Dahomy, and with him to the Gold
 Coast; as it is very improbable that *Snelgrave*,
 or the other authors above mentioned, should
 unite in giving them those names, when, per-
 haps, they none of them knew there were such
 people as *Malays* in the world.

Another war of the same kind happened on
 the Gold Coast about twenty-three or twenty-
 four years ago, between the *Ashantis* and the *Akims*,
 and upon the same occasion as the other, viz.
 that the former might obtain a free passage to
 the sea, in order to carry on their commerce to
 greater advantage. There might be other ex-
 amples collected of the like kind; but it is sup-
 posed what I have just given will be sufficient to
 prove,

* *Astley*, vol. ii. p. 458.

prove, that it is neither the practice nor the interest of the Europeans to encourage wars among the natives. For though, in the account of the wars and conquests made by the King of Dahomy, we find he sold a multitude of those he took prisoners as slaves; yet we are also told, “ By this war the trade of Whidaw was almost ruined; for the *inland people having no markets*, and the Dahomies using no trade but that of war, few Negroes were brought down to be sold to the Europeans.” At *Jaquin* also, Snelgrave found trade very dull, and likely to continue so for many years, on account of the confusion made by the wars. Notwithstanding Mr. Clarkson, as I have before observed, has acknowledged how much against the interest of the slave trade the wars among the natives are, yet, as it is necessary, at all hazards, to make the traders to Africa odious, he still persists in his endeavours to persuade his readers to believe that such wars are undertaken solely with the view of making prisoners; and therefore, notwithstanding this manifest inconsistency, he cannot deny himself the pleasure of embellishing his *view of the history of slavery* with the description of a battle, which, however, I believe, very few of his readers will think it possible should ever have been fought.

Mr.

Mr. Clarkson, as usual, most prudently conceals the name of the writer of the letter, of which he gives us what he calls a *faithful extract*. It ought to be sufficient for us, he thinks, that *he* vouches for the invisible author, who, he says, “ was long a prisoner among the inhabitants; “ and the scenes he was a witness to, in that situation, gave rise to a series of very interesting letters, which he wrote to the author*.” How much it is to be regretted, that Mr. Clarkson has not favoured the world with them ! From the specimen given us in the extract, which I am now about to quote, there can be little doubt but they would be equally as romantic and entertaining as the travels of *Baron Munchausen* ! But I detain my readers too long from the amusing account of this wonderful battle, or rather *skirmish*, as Mr. Clarkson calls it.

“ I was sent, with several others,” the letter-writer says, “ in a small sloop, up the river *Niger*, to purchase slaves. We had some *free* “ Negroes with us in the practice ; and as the “ vessels are liable to frequent attacks, from the “ Negroes on one side of the river, and from the “ Moors on the other, they are all armed. As “ we rode at anchor, a great way up the river, “ we observed a large number of Negroes *in butts* by

* Essay, p. 98.

“ by the river-side, and, for our own safety,
 “ kept a wary eye on them. Early next morn-
 “ ing, we saw, from our mast-head, a numerous
 “ body approaching, with apparently but *little*
 “ order, but in *close array*. They approached ve-
 “ ry fast, and fell furiously on the inhabitants
 “ of *the town*, who seemed to be *quite surprised*;
 “ but nevertheless, as soon as they could get
 “ together, fought stoutly. They had some fire-
 “ arms, but made very little use of them, as
 “ they came directly to close fighting, with
 “ their spears, lances, and sabres. Many of
 “ their invaders were mounted on small horses;
 “ and both parties fought for about half an
 “ hour with the fiercest animosity, exerting
 “ much more courage and perseverance than I
 “ had ever been witness to among them. The
 “ women and children of the town clustered to-
 “ gether to the water’s edge, running, shrieking,
 “ up and down, with terror, waiting the event
 “ of the combat, till their party gave way, and
 “ took to the water, to endeavour to swim over
 “ to the *Barbary* side. They were closely pur-
 “ sued even into the river, by the victors, who,
 “ though they came *for the purpose of getting slaves*,
 “ gave no quarter. Their cruelty prevailing
 “ over their avarice, they made no prisoners,
 “ but put all to the sword, without mercy.—
 “ Horrible indeed was the carnage of the van-

K

quished

“ quished on this occasion! and, as we were
 “ within two or three hundred yards of them,
 “ their cries and shrieks affected us extremely.
 “ We had got up our anchor at the beginning of
 “ the affray, and now stood close into the spot,
 “ where the victors followed the vanquished into
 “ the water, were continually dragging out and
 “ murdering those, who, by reason of their
 “ wounds, they easily overtook. The very chil-
 “ dren, whom they took in great numbers, did
 “ not escape the massacre. Enraged at their
 “ barbarity, we fired our guns, loaded with grape
 “ shot, and a volley of small arms, among them,
 “ effectually checked their ardour, and obliged
 “ them to retire to a distance from the shore ;
 “ from whence a few round cannon shot soon
 “ removed them into the woods. The *whole*
 “ river was *black over* with the heads of the fu-
 “ gitives, who were swimming for their lives.
 “ These poor wretches fearing us as much as their
 “ conquerors, dived, when we fired, and cried
 “ out most lamentably for mercy. Having now
 “ effectually favoured their retreat, we stood
 “ backwards and forwards, and took up several
 “ that were wounded and tired. All whose
 “ wounds had disabled them from swimming,
 “ were either butchered or drowned, before we
 “ got up to them. With a justice and generosity,
 “ never before heard of among *slavers*, we gave
 “ them

“ them their liberty whom we had taken up,
 “ setting them ashore, on the *Barbary* side, a-
 “ mong the residue of their companions, who had
 “ survived the slaughter of the morning.”

The following remarks, which will naturally occur to the mind of every person the least acquainted with the geography and trade of that part of the coast of Africa, which is said to have been the scene of action, will shew to a demonstration, that this account of an African skirmish, as it is called, is a shameful fiction, calculated to serve *Mr. Clarkson's purpose*; and, although I will not suppose it is Mr. Clarkson's own invention, he must be considered as highly censurable for suffering himself to be so easily deluded by an imposition so gross, that if he had cast his eye on any *modern map* of that country, he must have been undeceived. I beg leave to observe, in the first place, that there is no river on the western coasts of Africa, one side of which is inhabited by Moors, and the other by Negroes, except the river of *Senegal*. This river, for almost a century past, has been known by no other name; nor was it ever determined which was the river mentioned by *Leo* by the name of the *Niger*: some persons supposed it to be the *Rio Grande*, others the *Gambia*, and others the *Sanaga*, or river of *Senegal*. For upwards of fifty years, however, this opinion has been generally exploded; nor has there been

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any *trader* for more than that length of time who has called either the *Senegal*, or the *Gambia*, by any other than these names respectively. Yet this correspondent of Mr. Clarkson's, ventures to tell us, that he was sent up the River *Niger**, to purchase slaves. We observe, secondly, that it is not the custom to send sloops up the river to purchase slaves. The trade in which the vessels are employed which go up the river, is the *gum trade*; for which purpose they go up as high as the De-

* Mr. Adanson, indeed, who went to *Senegal* in 1749, affects to call the River of Senegal the *Niger*; but as he pretends, his voyage was merely occasioned by his attachment to Botanical Studies, he cannot be considered as a *Trader*. His description, however, of the river, and the good understanding kept up between the inhabitants of both sides of it, and the white people of Senegal, sufficiently prove the falsity of the letter-writer's account. But Mr. Adanson's affectation of calling the *Senegal* the *Niger*, is surely no justification of our letter writer doing so. Equally incredible is the account of the vessels standing to and fro in the river, to take up the fugitives. *Mr. Briis* mentions the reason of proceeding slowly up the river of Senega, to have been, "that even when the
 " water was at the highest, there was no passing up the river,
 " without assistance of the Negro *Laptots*, who hawl the boats
 " often up to the middle in water; the banks being covered
 " with trees so that they cannot make use of horses. Indeed,
 " with a westerly wind, they may advance quick enough, but
 " that seldom blows; the winds being generally contrary,
 " consequently of no use, and often dangerous, for want of
 " room to tack. *Ast.* p. 62.

part,

part, or a town called *Podore*. *Flats*, indeed, at the proper season of the year, are sent to *Galam*, near three hundred leagues *bigger*, from whence some slaves are brought, and very few others are purchased there, except when a famine happens, which is not very uncommon amongst the inhabitants. The possession of Senegal by the English, prior to the last war, has made us perfectly acquainted with that country; and we know that, when the river fails to overflow annually, in the manner it generally does, the country is barren on both sides of it. When the seasons are favourable, they have, indeed, plenty of provisions, but the country becomes the most unhealthy in the world; and, in particular, the east winds, which immediately precede the rains, are so pernicious, and of so piercing and penetrating a nature, that the boards of the floors, and wainscoting of the houses, in *Fort Louis*, shrink so, as to separate half an inch from each other, altho' perfectly close before. These winds also bring, from the inland country, a red impalpable dust, with which the sails and decks of the vessels, which lie at anchor over the bar, several miles from the shore, are so covered, as to make the canvas look as if it was tanned.

At this time of the year, for several weeks together, animal food, of all kinds, can scarcely be kept from putrefaction, for three hours after

it is killed; and even the fish of the rivers is reckoned unwholesome. The late General *Worge*, who was a long time governor of Senegal, has often told me, that it was his custom totally to abstain from animal food at that period of the year, and sustain himself principally with *Gum Senegal* dissolved in milk; not omitting to take bark and chamomile tea very frequently, as well as plenty of Madeira wine. After the rains cease, and the waters of the river, which overflow the country for several hundred miles, subside, the quantities of slime, putrid fish, frogs, and other vermin left on the ground, fill the air with exhalations little short of being pestilential. These periodical floods prevent any considerable towns being settled on the banks of that river; which is a third proof of the falsity of the account given Mr. Clarkson by his correspondent, who describes a town, which must be extremely populous, when, after so dreadful a massacre of men, women, and children, the fugitives were numerous enough to blacken, with their heads, a river which must have been at least 500 yards wide, according to the description in the letter; for the sloop was at anchor in the middle of it, and, we find, was two or three hundred yards from the shore. The letter-writer, however, cautious to avoid detection, does not give us either the name of this great town, where he saw such a *large*
number

number of Negroes in their butts; neither does he tell us the name of the nation invaded, nor that of the invaders. The inhabitants of the south banks of the Senegal, are the *Fallofs*, the *Fulls*, and the *Mundingoos*. Further from the river, and between the Senegal and Gambia, towards the sea-coast, live the *Dimels*. These nations occupy the whole country between the Senegal and Gambia; and no party can come to attack a town, on the south bank of the river Senegal, but after such declared hostilities, between some or other of these people, as to prevent such an absolute surprize as the letter-writer speaks of. Fourthly, if there was any truth in this story, the party, who gave way, would not have been so imprudent as to swim over to the *Barbary shore*, as the letter-writer calls it, which is a name equally unknown to the traders on that river; as descriptive of the Moor's side of it, as that of the *Niger* is of the river itself; because the armed Moors would most probably have made slaves of those fugitives; and if the letter-writer was really purchasing slaves, these very Moors were the only people from whom he could have bought them. But a conclusive mark of the falsity of the account given us, as well as of the author's total ignorance of the trade on that river, is his assertion of being in danger, from the inhabitants of both sides. If any dispute happens between the natives and the Europeans,

all trade is suspended till an accommodation takes place ; and therefore no trading vessels ever go up the river under such circumstances ; for with whom, in that case, would they have traded ? The truth, however, is, that a regular police is established, both among the Moors and Negroes. If however the former can steal any of the latter, they generally make slaves of them, and send them by the caravans to *Fez* and *Morocco*, to be sold *. These Negroes, therefore, if defeated by any invaders who attack them, would never have fled to the Moors, but would have sought the assistance of the sloop, and the white people on board, instead of having feared them as much as their conquerors, or dived, when their guns were fired, and cried out so lamentably for mercy. Indeed, instead of betaking themselves to the river, one would naturally have supposed they would have taken to the woods, which are very close to, and extensive on the river side.

To give you time to breathe a little after so sanguinary a battle, I beg leave to subscribe myself, with great regard and esteem,

Dear, Sir, &c,

* *Un. Mod. Hist.* v. 14. p. 139.

LETTER

LETTER VI.

November 10, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I FLATTER myself, I have, in my former letters, confuted the greatest part of the calumnies against the Merchants Trading to Africa, with which Mr. Clarkson's Essay is replete. Notwithstanding the contradictory accounts he gives of the number of prisoners of war, or convicts, which constitute part of his 100,000 slaves annually exported from Africa, making them either the hundredth or the tenth part of the number, as *best suits his purpose* of abusing the African Merchants, at any rate they form but an inconsiderable part of the whole. I have shewn also, the absurdity of supposing many of these slaves to be privately kidnapped, or stolen, which one of the authors he quotes (*Moore*) says, is a frequent practice on the *Gambia*; altho', at the same time, he adds, "the company's servants *never* buy any such as they suspect to be stolen, without first consulting the *Alkade*, or chief man of the place." *Ast. vol. 2. p. 242.* I shall now proceed to shew, that the petty princes of Africa have not the authority to seize and sell their subjects for slaves. As Mr. Clarkson brings not any the least proof
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of his assertion, but amuses his readers with a declamation, respecting the just authority which empire gives the prince, and the natural right of the subject, which might, perhaps, have great weight and efficacy in teaching the laws of morality and religion to the African Princes, if they heard it, I might content myself with asking him upon what ground he would have us believe, that those African Princes claim such authority? and call upon him to produce some instances of their having exercised, or attempted to exercise it, But I do not wish to cavil, and therefore will go on to prove, by a fair state of facts, that Mr. Clarkson is mistaken in his assertion, and that the princes and great men on the coast of Africa, neither claim or exercise *such* an authority. Every trader to the coast knows, that the free subjects of the princes who rule there, are not sold for slaves, unless they cannot satisfy their creditors; or have been guilty of some crime. Nay, Mr. Clarkson's correspondent last mentioned, implies as much; he says, "they had some *free* Negroes with them;" which shews there is a distinction of *freemen* and *slaves* in Africa; and the authors before quoted, not only shew that free people are not sold, but that they very seldom sell their own household slaves, upon the coast*; nor have any

but

* ——— Jobson says, "Though, in *some* parts of
" Africa, they sell the slaves born in the family, yet, on the
" river

but the nobles, and people of condition, a right to trade in slaves, or buy and sell them. The free subjects then, of the African princes, unless included in one or other of the classes before-mentioned, who altogether make but a very small number of the whole, form no part of those sent to the European colonies. It is clear, however, from the history we have of Africa, that the people on the coast possess slaves, which they sometimes sell, though not very often; but that, by far the greater part of those sold to the Europeans, are brought from the inland countries.

Of these inland countries the Europeans have very little knowledge. “ The *Mundings*, and “ the natives of *Galam*, who trade to *Bambuk*, “ know their own interest too well to introduce “ strangers, who would first share the profits of “ so advantageous a commerce, and perhaps, “ when once established, entirely exclude them. “ *Ast. p. 145.* As they were jealous of the sub- “ jects of the *Siratic*, their neighbours, though of

“ river Gambia, they think it a very wicked thing: he never “ heard of but one that ever sold a family slave, except for “ such crimes as they would have been sold for if they had “ been free. If one of the family slaves (where there are “ many) commits a crime, and the master sells him for it, “ without the consent of the rest, they will all run away, “ and be protected in the next kingdom.”

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“ the same colour and religion, it was easy to
 “ imagine they would be more afraid of Euro-
 “ peans. Besides the people of *Bambuk* were
 “ perfectly acquainted with the value of their
 “ country; for this reason they suffer none to
 “ enter on any account, except a small number
 “ of people, who bring them such necessaries as
 “ they have not among themselves. p. 242.
 “ p. 147. The *Jonkos* or merchants (says Moore)
 “ are very unwilling to tell much of the inland
 “ country; but they dare not travel on the east
 “ side of the river *Fulime*, as the Negroes are so
 “ mistrustful, that they suffer nobody to enter
 “ their country, but with the utmost caution.”
 “ The merchants, *we are told*, in some years,
 “ bring down the *Gambia*, slaves to the number
 “ of 2000; most of which, they say, are taken
 “ prisoners of war; these they buy from the dif-
 “ ferent princes, *who take them*. Many of them
 “ are *Bombrongs**, and *Pecharis*; nations which
 “ differ in language, and come from a great way
 “ inland. Their way of bringing them, is tying
 “ them by the neck with *leathern* thongs, at
 “ about a yard distance from each other, thirty
 “ or forty in a string; having generally a bundle
 “ of corn, or an elephant’s tooth, in their hands.
 “ In their way from the mountains, they travel

* Bombaras.

through

“ through *great woods*, where, as there is no water
 “ to be found, they carry it with them in skin bags.”
 “ This we take to be the origin of the pathetic
 description we meet with in the *Essay*, p. 118 and
 119. There, Mr. Clarkson tell us of “ three of
 “ these slaves being *chained* together; they were
 “ the father and two sons. The wife, and two
 “ other children, were killed in the attack; and
 “ the grandfather, not being so able, on account of
 “ his age, was left bleeding on the spot. Thirty
 “ others are the remains of a numerous tribe, all
 “ the rest being killed in the same skirmish.”
 p. 120. The rest, he tells us, were chained in pairs;
 and they are described to be “ lashed forward by
 “ their drivers. They speak a language unknown
 “ to the people on the coast; and they are pur-
 “ chased, *with spirituous liquors*, of a very distant
 “ prince. Many of them are *loaded* with Ele-
 “ phants teeth. *All* had skin bags upon their backs,
 “ because, travelling from the great mountains,
 “ *through barren sands*, &c. they were obliged to
 “ carry water and provisions with them; notwith-
 “ standing which, many perished; some by hun-
 “ ger, but the greatest part by fatigue, coming
 “ from such an amazing distance, as that the
 “ journey could scarce be completed in seven
 “ *moons*.”—To heighten this picture, Mr. Clark-
 son tells us of an unfortunate convict, among the
 slaves, who lived *only five days* journey from the
 factory,

factory, condemned to slavery, for *having roused the game too soon*, when hunting with the king.—His wife and children, lest they should have the punishment extended to them, which Mr. Clarkson says, is not unusual, fled into the woods, where they were *all devoured*.—In the facetious Dean Swift's receipt to make an epic poem, the poet is directed to furnish his hero with all the virtues; and if they cannot be reduced to a consistency, to lay them all in a heap upon him. Mr. Clarkson seems to have profited by this advice, in more than one part of his Essay. Here we see him accumulating all kinds of cruelty, and every kind of oppression and barbarity, to lay them in an heap upon the Slave Merchants. We shall find him hereafter proceeding in the same manner to load the Planters. But may not a man, of plain common sense, ask Mr. Clarkson, whether the collecting together, into one farrago, every idle story, and every conjecture, made by the many different authors cited by *Astley*, in the course of commerce heretofore carried on for more than a century, and charging them all as facts committed by the Merchant of the present day, is giving a *View of the History of Slavery*? is such conduct consistent either with the fidelity of an historian, or with common honesty? would it not have been fairer to have delivered the particulars (if necessary to have mentioned them at all) in the manner in which

which they were related by the original author of the accounts? But probably Mr. Clarkson will say, that fair mode of transcribing would *not have answered his purpose*; that, if separately taken, they would not have excited so large a quantity of disgust and horror as it was his purpose to raise in the passive mind of his readers. This we believe might have been the case. To shew that it would, let us examine *Mr. Moore's* account before-mentioned with a little attention.

The *Mundingos* are the greatest merchants upon the windward coast. We have seen, that they are very cautious of suffering strangers to inform themselves of any thing respecting the inland country; and *Monfieur Briie* tells us, "that, notwithstanding the French have had better opportunities than other people of discovering the inland trade, and finding the source of the *Niger*, and whether it is the same with the *Senegal*, or the *Gambia*, they have not been able to succeed; the accounts of the natives themselves being so different, proceeding either from their ignorance in the geography of their country, or a design to discourage strangers from attempting a commerce, which might ruin their own." Is it not then very probable, that the account given by these people to *Mr. Moore*, that the Negroes they conducted down the *Gambia* were prisoners of war, and purchased by them of
princes

princes continually at war with each other, was fabricated to deceive the Europeans, and check their desire, or endeavour, to visit those inland markets, from which we are told they are so cautiously excluded? * *Mr. Moore* tells us, some of these slaves, so brought down the Gambia, *differ in language*; but from whom? One would naturally conclude, from the words he uses, that they differ in language from each other; or, perhaps, from the *Mundingos* themselves, whose language is almost as universally spoken, all over *Senegambia*, and the greatest part of the windward coast, as the French is in Europe. *Mr. Clarkson* from

* This jealousy seems to prevail in a remarkable degree throughout all the Negro communities bordering on the coast.—Thus, *Snelgrove* informs us, that, observing some *Malays* at the king of *Dahomy's* camp, who, he had heard, were great travellers and inland traders, and on his expressing a desire to have some discourse with them, he was dissuaded by his linguist, and told it would give offence to the *Daboman* General. Now here was no reasonable cause of umbrage as far as we can judge, except the General's probable apprehension, that such a private conference might lead to a disclosure of those interior channels of trade, which the Negro princes consider for their advantage to conceal from active, sagacious, powerful, and enterprising strangers.—This natural caution, indeed, is no more than we see operating every day in our own country, where merchants, shopkeepers, and traders, of all denominations, are very careful to conceal the prime cost of their goods, and to wrap their professional manoeuvres in a veil of mystery.

hence

hence takes occasion to describe a great number of these slaves, from the inland country, as talking a language nobody on the coast can understand. The tying them, or tethering them together, with leathern thongs, (in itself rather an improbable story, as so short a leash would render it very difficult for the slaves to travel commodiously,) will not satisfy Mr. Clarkson : he converts these leathern thongs into iron chains ; well knowing that leather may easily be cut or broken, and consequently not so fit to confine prisoners of war, who probably would not submit to be held by such slender ties ; nor, indeed, would any other of mankind, in such a situation, who chose to set themselves at liberty. *Mr. Moore* and *Mr. Clarkson* do not differ so much in their accounts of the slaves bringing their provisions and water with them, through the inhospitable places they must pass in their journey, where neither the one or the other were to be met with. *Mr. Moore* calls these places “ *woods* ;” *Mr. Clarkson* “ *barren sands* ;” which really sounds more like Africa : and as *Mr. Moore*’s story is, as he tells us, from *hear-say* only, perhaps *Mr. Clarkson*’s alteration is advantageous to his purpose ; it certainly makes the journey seem more hot and unpleasant, and the poor travellers will want a greater supply of water ; so that their sacks ought to be proportionably larger : but, be it as it may, the constraining

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people to take provisions with them, when they must be starved if they do not, is a species of cruelty, I will not undertake to justify ; though, I ought in justice, to own, that even, by Mr. Clarkson's own account, they do not so much overload them, but that many of them, from this negative *humanity*, perish with hunger on the road.

The *lashing* them forward till they crowd together like bullocks driven to a fair, we do not observe noticed in any of the other histories of Africa ; certainly not in *Mr. Moore's* account. Mr. Clarkson will therefore be intitled to the whole merit of introducing that embellishment into his description. I think, however, he might as well have omitted the story of these merchants purchasing the slaves with *spirituous liquors*, at such amazing distances from the coast ; because they are a very bulky commodity ; our English smugglers find them so ; but in so hot a climate as Africa, they would be apt to evaporate too copiously in a *seven month's* journey. On this comparative view of *Mr. Moore* and Mr. Clarkson, who is there that does not see that the latter has borrowed from the former, and, by way of interest, has thrown in a lumping addition of such scraps as he has been industrious to glean from different stories, scattered in different authors, with fundry little supplemental touches of his own, in order to agitate the passions of the public, and inflame them to
the

the destruction of the British Merchants trading with Africa! Yet all that can be reasonably concluded, either from *Moore*, or any of the various historians referred to, in the course of this and Mr. Clarkson's *Essay*, is, that slaves, gold, and ivory, come from parts of the country very distant from the western coast; that even Malaysians are among those Negro traders who bring down these commodities to the maritime states; and that it is probable the terrible tales of the immense journies, of the prodigious difficulties that occur by the way, and of the bloody and incessant wars of the different princes through whose territories these traders must necessarily pass, are invented, by the inland merchants, in concert with the Negro chiefs, to keep their commerce as much as possible in their own hands.

I shall now proceed to shew, that there is no occasion to have recourse to the despotic authority of the African princes, to provide the traders, on the coast, with the slaves they supply to the European colonies in America.

It is from the concurrent testimony of all the authors of the voyages collected by *Astley*, we may affirm, the slaves are chiefly supplied from the inland countries. In particular, *Smythe* says, in his *voyage*, p. 135, "*Akra* seldom fails of
" a great trade from the *inland countries*, espe-
" cially for slaves, whereof several are supposed

“ to be brought from very far ; because it is not
 “ uncommon to find a *Malayan*, and sometimes
 “ two, among a parcel of these slaves.” The
 “ *Malay* people were originally natives of Malacca,
 “ the largest promontory in Asia, which lies
 “ between Borneo and Sumatra.” *Ib.* p. 438.

To shew the number of slaves the Caboshiers, or great men, have, *Loyer* tells us, that each of the three generals of the *Isini* had 500 or 600 slaves ; and the captains, or lesser Caboshiers, from 25 to 60 each.

In describing the different conditions of the people on the Gold Coast, the authors of the Modern Universal History tell us, *vol.* 17. p. 141,
 “ The fifth class consists of the slaves ; those
 “ who have been sold as such by their parents ;
 “ those who have been born slaves ; or those who,
 “ through poverty, have been reduced to this
 “ unhappy condition.” “ The *Whidaneſe* priests
 “ are said to breed slaves, and sell them to vast
 “ advantage ; and so do also the principal people
 “ throughout the coast of Africa.” *Vol.* 16.
 p. 419. It is clear, from what has been before said, that very few but these kind of people were ever sold to the Europeans ; and the commerce is now upon so much better a footing, that it is much less likely to happen than formerly. But certainly the greater number of slaves purchased at present, are those persons who are compelled to
 sell

sell their liberty for subsistence. That a whole nation, in that quarter of the globe, did so dispose of themselves heretofore, Mr. Clarkson will not dispute. If such an event once happened in the fertile country of Egypt, where agriculture was understood and practised, and which was heretofore the granary of the world, from whence in particular, we learn, the inhabitants of *Canaan*, frequently afflicted with famine, used to be supplied, how very probable is it, that it should frequently happen, even yearly, in the countries within the torrid zone, where the extremes of drought or moisture are equally pernicious to vegetation. If too long a continuance of dry weather happens, the most skilful and attentive cultivation of the earth, will not occasion it to produce sufficient to nourish the inhabitants; and if the rains are too abundant, or continue too long, the seed is rotted in the ground, or the grain spoiled before it can be gathered in; or, perhaps, when there is every appearance of an abundant harvest, the whole may be destroyed by the caterpillars, or *palmer worm*, or devoured by locusts, or other vermin. In some part or other, therefore, of this great country, it is more than probable, one or other of the above-mentioned causes, may occasion the inhabitants to *want* the necessities of life, even should they not feel *the extremities* of famine; which is very likely, as the ferti-

lity of the land in such countries, when the seasons are favourable, renders very little labour sufficient to procure the inhabitants a redundancy of subsistence; and the warmth of the country, joined to the ease with which they can procure nourishment in common seasons, encourages that idleness, natural to persons living in an uncultivated state. That such is really the case will be evident. *The Universal Mod. Hist.* vol. 16. p. 157, mentions a famine on the *Gold Coast* in the 15th century, occasioned by locusts, which covered the earth in such swarms, and so completely devoured the fruits of it, that they not only did not leave one blade of grass or grain of corn, but the very leaves and bark of their palm and other trees were eaten up, which reduced them to such extremity, that the parents were forced to decimate their children, and sell one to help to support the rest; insomuch, that the markets for slaves were so overstocked, that the Portuguese merchants had not ships to transport them to the Brazils; insomuch that the kingdom must have been depopulated by the famine, and the pestilence which followed, had not the Portuguese come to their assistance, and furnished them with proper physic, and wholesome food. So dreadful was the miserable condition of the people, that many persons of quality, and even princes of the blood, voluntarily

“ luntarily sold themselves for slaves, and sub-
 “ mitted to be sent chained, to the Portuguese
 “ plantations, with the common herd, in hopes
 “ to meet with some relief, even in this sad ex-
 “ change of misery.” In *vol. 17. p. 323*, it is
 said, “ The oppression of the government does
 “ not a little increase the natural indolence of
 “ the Negroes. They are at little pains to cul-
 “ tivate and improve their lands. They hardly
 “ till enough to supply their wants, but make up
 “ the deficiency by roots, fruits, and herbage ;
 “ and hence we may perceive the reason, why
 “ they are afflicted with *such frequent dearths and*
 “ *famine*, of which the Europeans beheld a dismal,
 “ but, to them, profitable instance in 1675, when
 “ fathers sold themselves, their wives, children,
 “ and connections, only for a small pittance of
 “ food, to relieve the immediate craving of
 “ hunger. This was the most calamitous famine
 “ that had ever been felt by any people. They
 “ not only sold, but eat, their nearest relations ;
 “ and the strongest, like wild beasts, preyed upon
 “ the weaker.” This famine was experienced
 by the inhabitants of the countries upon the
 rivers Senegal and Gambia. Broeck tells us,
 “ that, in 1706, so large a flight of locusts flew
 “ over Port D’Ali, that the air was darkened
 “ above an hour. These insects so destroyed the
 “ fruits of the earth, that they came to no ma-
 L 4 “ turity ;

"turity; and the famine was so great, that parents sold their children for slaves." The author "saw several bought for a measure of wheat a head, which was not above a hatful."

2 *Ast.* p. 195. In Stibbs's voyage we find an account, "that, on the 25th of December, 1723, at noon, a vast swarm of locusts rose to the west, and came as far as Jillifray. The next day in the afternoon, having devoured all the herbage about Jillifray, this swarm rose and flew up the river, to the east, They spread at least four miles, darkening the air so, that neither sky or woods were perceptible."

Adanson tells us he had an opportunity, in February, 1750, of observing, "for the first time, the mischief done by locusts, that scourge so dreadful in hot climates.—A cloud of locusts raised about 20 or 30 fathoms from the ground, and covering an extent of several leagues, upon which it poured a shower of these insects, which fell to devouring while they rested themselves, and then resumed their flight. They spread desolation wherever they came. After devouring the herbage, with the fruits and leaves of trees, they attacked even the buds and the very bark. They did not so much as spare the reeds, with which the huts were thatched, notwithstanding that these were so dry."

"P. 647,

P. 647, Astley tells us, “ that there are but
 “ few slaves on the Gold Coast; none but the
 “ kings, or nobles, being permitted to buy or
 “ sell any. These slaves are generally such
 “ wretches as, through poverty, are obliged to
 “ sell themselves to the grandees or nobles (who
 “ are the only merchants) to prevent starving.
 “ These masters mark them with their own
 “ stamp.”—To shew that the people of this
 district in general are free, it is remarked,
 that the natives will not be called *Ethiopians*,
 (which they say is a name of reproach, only proper
 for slaves), but *prettos*, or blacks. Is not
 this a proof that the generality of the slaves come
 from places very far inland, even from Ethiopia?

I flatter myself, I have now shewn, agreeable
 to my undertaking, that slavery always existed in
 the world. That the emancipation of slaves, in
 Europe, was not owing to Christianity. That
 slavery was not abolished, in Europe, in the 12th
 century, nor even at the time of the Portuguese
 discoveries. That, therefore, they did not re-
 vive that commerce, nor were the *first* who
 carried the *Africans* into slavery. That they only
 diverted a part of that commerce from the east to
 the west part of that continent, by doing which,
 they have enabled the Christians to purchase some
 of those slaves which would otherwise have been
 sold to the Mahomedans: for we are told, *Mod.*
Univ.

Univ. Hist. v. 16. p. 64. " that the Arabs, who
 " trade to those rich and opulent kingdoms of
 " Africa, that are known only to themselves,
 " bring from thence great numbers of slaves,
 " none of which they will sell at any price to
 " *Christians*, lest they should induce them to quit
 " the Mahomedan religion." Perhaps, as a
 Christian divine, zealous for the conversion of the
 Negroes, Mr. Clarkson may be alarmed at so
 many more of them being made Mahomedans,
 (if the European trade with Africa should cease,) *who now have some chance of being made Christians.*

I have also shewn that the inhabitants of the
 West Coast have been so far civilized, by their
 intercourse with the Europeans, that they have
 entirely (and the people within land, in a great
 measure) desisted from the abominable practice of
 immolating and eating their prisoners; that the
 value of the slaves, on the coast, is so increased,
 that there can be little doubt of their being more
 cherished than before; that, so far are the Euro-
 peans from exciting the people to go to war, *for*
the purpose of procuring prisoners, such wars are
 destructive of their commerce; and that the stories
 told by people, who bring the slaves from the in-
 land countries, of their being prisoners of war, are
 in all probability false; and surely, it must ap-
 pear highly improbable that a few traders could
 bring

bring down a number of people, through different petty states, if those so brought down were not slaves, willing to travel, contented with their lot, and accustomed to it, and, unless the trade was so regulated, as that the Merchants had free passage and protection, on payment to the sovereigns of the countries they passed through, of reasonable and settled duties. If we have satisfied our readers in these points, we may be allowed to consider, what would be the consequence of *abolishing* this trade, if England was competent to do it? or even of diminishing the commerce in any great degree? clearly, the returning the whole of it into the antient channel, which never has been entirely shut, and obliging the natives, who possess slaves, to dispose of them to the Moors and Arabs; the lessening their value to a very great degree, and inducing the inhabitants to return to their old custom of sacrificing them on the graves of their masters, or of their princes; or of suffering thousands to die when a famine happens, for want of being able otherwise to get rid of them.

That the former is even a probable supposition, cannot be doubted by any one who is acquainted with the customs of the Negroes, even those born in the West Indies, not excepting many who have been baptized. It is their usage annually to visit the graves of friends and relations. They pluck the weeds from them; and such of them as have
stones

stones or brick works over them, (which are very many in this town,) they whiten and adorn.— They kill (I may with propriety say, *sacrifice*) sheep, hogs, goats, or poultry, according to their abilities, sprinkling the blood upon the graves, and throwing water and bread thereon, to regale the spirits of their departed friends, which they consider a duty, before they presume to feast themselves. Having heard much of these ceremonies, I once had the curiosity to go, at the dawn of day, to the Negroe burying ground, at *Spring Path*, and was an eye witness of the above fact, and asked one of the people I saw so employed, an *Asbanti* woman, to appearance between 30 and 40 years old, whether they contented themselves with killing such animals on the graves of their friends in her country? She candidly answered me, that they sometimes put their slaves to death, especially if from dreams or other causes, they had reason to think their friends stood in need of the service of such slaves in the other world, I asked her whether they would do so in *Jamaica*, if they were permitted? She replied “to be sure, “*Massa*; but you know we have no power here.” I asked her if she conceived that her deceased friends could profit by such proceedings? she said, “sure, *Massa*; we foolish Negroes think so.” I answered, that she ought to have learned better from the example of the whites, amongst whom

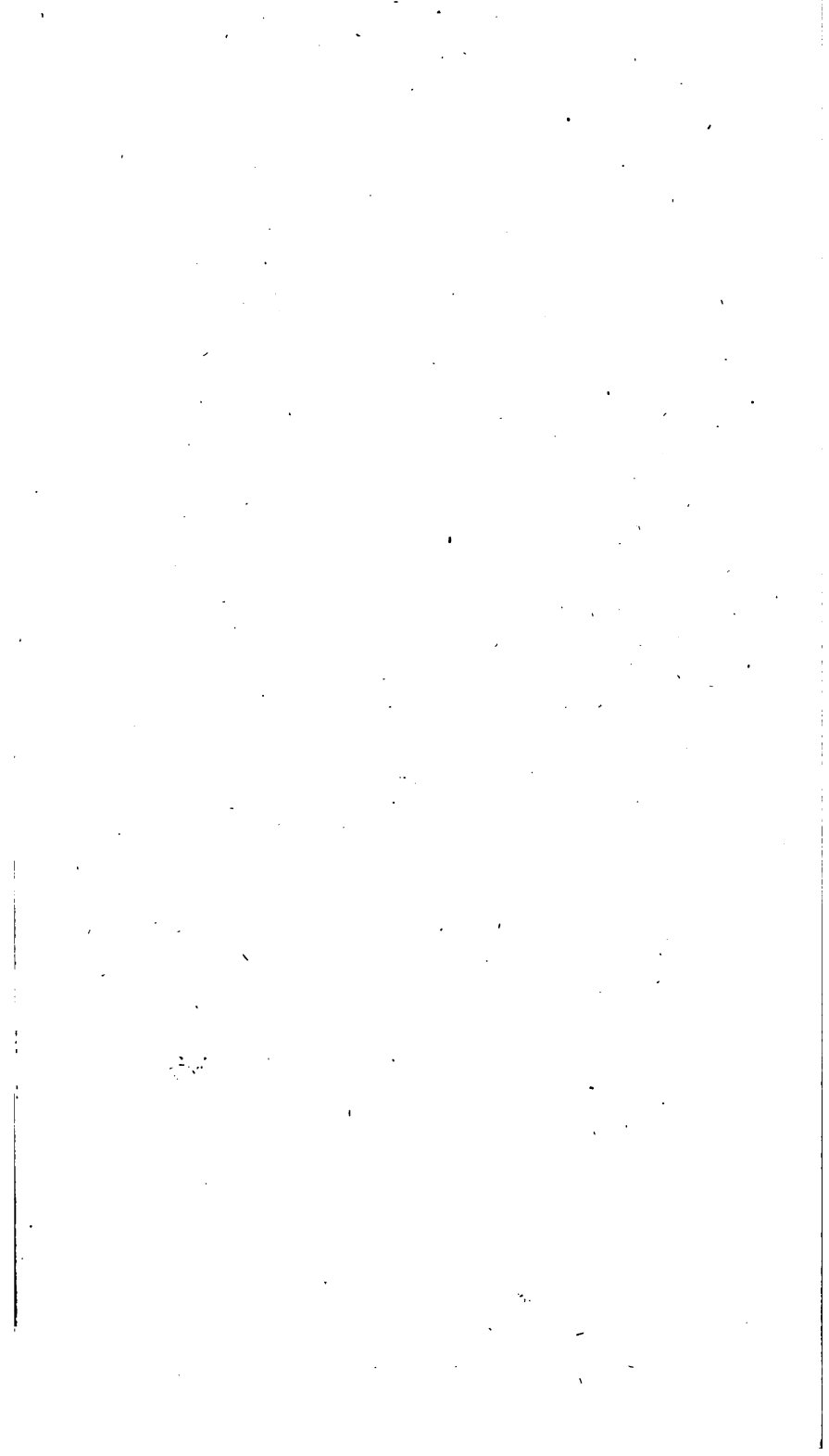
she

she must have lived so long, from the goodness of her language. Her reply was very remarkable. “ *Massa*, the *Boccaras* * no drefs up their church with boughs this day? *This* our church.” From this narrative, it is probable, that, if the present European exportation of slaves should be discontinued, the whole number of slaves usually so obtained, which are said to be about 70,000 per annum, will be annually murdered. If these should be the consequences of the present enthusiastic ardour, with which the gentlemen in the *Old Jewry* are inflamed, what excuse could they make to humanity, and to the Christian religion, for having thus re-established such diabolical *sacrifices*?

Tantum, Religio *potuit* suadere malorum?

* White people.

LETTER



LETTER VII.

Jamaica, Nov, 18, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I BELIEVE you will acknowledge that, in my former letters, I have fairly met Mr. Clarkson upon his own ground. I have chiefly availed myself of the authorities he himself has quoted, in confutation of his accusations against the British Merchants trading to Africa. I have shewn that, in quoting such his authorities, he has been guilty of a *suppressio veri*, which a religious man would consider in the same light as *bearing false witness*; and he has done this, as we may conclude from his own acknowledgement, in his View of the History of Slavery, to *serve a purpose*. We find too, *that purpose* was, to calumniate those who trade in, or possess slaves; with what justice, as to the first, we have seen. I have undertaken to shew, that he is equally culpable for his abuse of the Planters in the West India Islands. Before I enter on that part of my task, it will not be improper to take notice, that, if even the authorities of which Mr. Clarkson has availed himself, had been fairly cited, and been sufficient to have justified the conclusions he has drawn, from the unjust and partial representations which

he

he has given of them, yet, they would not have applied to the present state of the African Trade, any more than the History of Russia, before the time of Peter the Great, would be consistent with the present situation of that empire. The latest of the authors quoted by Mr. Clarkson, who have traded to Africa, is *Mr. Moore*, who was one of the Factors on the *Gambia* in the year 1730, and left it in 1735, upwards of 50 years ago. *Smith* resided in Africa ten years earlier, and *Bosman* near a century ago. *Adanson*, indeed, was in Senegambia in 1750, but he speaks nothing of the Slave Trade. The authors of some of the voyages in Astley's Collection, are as early as the 15th century. Will any body suppose that, when the manners, not only of the inhabitants of Great Britain, but of all Europe, are so much changed and softened within these 50 years, that those alone of the people trading to Africa, should continue to be as barbarous as when Blackbeard, Avery, Cochlin, Davis, Roberts, and a number of other pirates and interlopers, made the trade not only of Africa, but all commerce and navigation, unsafe? Though my desire to convince you that the trade so much censured, was not carried on with the circumstances of barbarity and cruelty said to attend it, induced me not to advantage myself of so fair an exception to Mr. Clarkson's quotations from writers so
antient,

anient (the infidelity of which is not easily liable to detection, for want of references, and because they are only known to be quotations by inverted commas, and which consist of parts of different authors, who wrote at various and different times, put together, and unfairly shewn to the public, as the assertions of one and the same original author,) I shall not consider myself precluded from making objections of the same kind, to the description the Essayist gives of the slavery of the Africans in the European Colonies in America. Here, too, he is guilty of the same unfair dealing: he marks his garbled quotations in the same manner by inverted commas, but he neither tells us his authorities, nor the particular colony where, or the times when, those facts are said to have happened, which he adduces as proofs of the tyranny and cruelty of the West Indians. We have, on all these occasions, a right to deny such facts, or to suppose them to have happened so long ago, that the truth or falsity of them are equally unimportant to the present question. As for all such of his general assertions, respecting the inhuman conduct of the Planters towards their slaves as I can fix to time and place, I have no doubt but I shall be able to shew the falsity or absurdity of them, so far as they may affect the colonists *in general*.

In pursuance of my undertaking I beg leave to remark, that in Mr. Clarkson's preface, with the

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same,

same want of candour which I have been obliged so frequently to point out, he has asserted, and thereby endeavoured to induce his readers to believe, “ that the pious bishop of *Cbiapa*, *Bartb. de las Casas*, in the 15th century, seems to have “ been among the first of those who humanely “ exerted themselves to suppress the abject personal slavery introduced in the original cultivation of the European Colonies in the Western “ World.” What opinion will the public entertain of Mr. Clarkson’s integrity, when they are told, as the fact is, that the introduction of the African slaves into the colonies, was *first* conceived and recommended by this very “ *amiable man* ?” It is true, he made a speech to *Charles* the Vth in favour of the Indians ; accusing those Spaniards, who treated them with cruelty, in terms of asperity, which they too justly merited : but to shew what was the conduct of the bishop of *Cbiapa*, I refer you to Mr. *de la Harpe’s Abregé de l’Histoire General de Voyages*, tom. 10. p. 149. Las Casas résolut aussitôt de faire le voyage de Flandres pour instruire le Prince Charles, avant qu’on eût pensé á le prévenir. Cependant d’autres considerations, ne lui permettant de faire cette demarche sans l’agrement du Cardinal Ximenes, qui venait d’être déclaré regent du royaume, il prit le parti de l’aller voir a Madrid. Il le trouva très bien disposé en sa faveur, mais son voyage
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de Flandres n'en fut pas approuvè. Le Cardinal apres l'avoir entendu, s'occupa d'un nouveau plan d'adminiftration, dont il confia le foin aux freres Hyeronymites, dans l'ifle Hispaniole. Dans ce nouveau plan les Americains étaient declarés libres et tous les reglemens tendaient a adoucir leur fort. Les esclaves des principaux departemens, furent mis en liberté : mais les departmens ne furent pas formellement abolis, quoique reftreints par beaucoup de loix favorables aux peuples conquis : Les Hyeronymites quoique revêtus d'une autorite abfolûe n'eurent pas le courage de maintenir ces loix dans toute leur vigueur elles furent bientôt éludées et tous les abus continuerent dès que la nouvelle adminiftration eût déclaré qu'on ne toucherait point aux departemens. Le zeile de Las Cafas fe ralluma. Il repaffa en Efpagne, et trouvant les obstacles de tous côtés, *il propofa de faire exploiter les antilles par des negres.* Il eft affés extraordinaire, que Las Cafas imagina qu'on avoit plus de droit fur la liberté des negres, que fur celle des Americains.

Mr. *Woolman*, and Mr. *Benezet*, were of a perfuafion who hold very remarkable tenets. They preached againft flavery. The members of their fociety hold *war* and *lawsuits* to be equally unlawful ; vice and immorality of all kinds are furely alfo, to be condemned ; but in fpite of the pious endeavours of the Quakers, and every other

preacher, such is the nature of man, these evils will all exist as long as the world endures. As to Mr. *Benezet*, I do not believe he ever was in the West Indies, or had any knowledge of the treatment the slaves of the Planters receive there. That it is in some *particular* instances, such as it ought not to be, there is no doubt: but where is the country where the weak are not oppressed by the strong? Much would that person merit who could effectually prevent it; till that is done, the man who depends on another's will or caprice for his daily subsistence, whether he be white or black, is in such a state of servitude as may justly be called slavery. That absolute slavery Sir William Blackstone reprobates, which "puts the life of one human being in the power of another," does not exist in the Colonies; and we willingly assent to that learned judge's declaration, that it ought not to exist any where. Every man of feeling, every man of humanity, though convinced of the propriety of the existence of servitude or slavery, differently modified in different parts of the world, will rejoice at every wholesome and proper regulation, which may increase the happiness, and insure the protection, of those people, who are placed by the Providence of God in a servile condition, and secure them from the oppression of their masters or superiors. It is, however, difficult to attain so desirable an end; nor are those who

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are unacquainted with the nature, the tempers, and resources of the poor of distant countries, in any degree capable of so arduous an undertaking.

The injury which Mr. Grenville Sharpe's indiscreet zeal, to procure the freedom of the Negro servants who went to England, occasioned those unhappy people to suffer by considering themselves as freemen, and by that means forfeiting the protection of their masters, without acquiring any other; and from thence, undergoing the extremities of cold and hunger, is yet to be deplored. Mischiefs similar to what those people experienced, who were thus seduced from their duty, and their happiness, by the specious name of liberty, (if the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies was to take place, as seems to be the wish of Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Ramsay,) would most certainly be the consequence. Mr. Ramsay, who knows something of the West Indies, acknowledges it. He says, "it would be both inhuman and impolitic, to make a slave free who cannot earn an honest living." He must know little of the generality of Negro, or any other slaves, who will suppose they will work without compulsion. It is for this very reason Mr. Ramsay himself seems to consider his scheme as an *Utopian* one. Mr. Clarkson, in proportion to his smaller degree of knowledge, is more positive, more violent, and more injurious in his

expressions. Mr. Ramsay's performance (notwithstanding Mr. Clarkson's assertions to the contrary) is certainly proved, by *Mr. Tobin*, to be replete with errors and exaggerations. Mr. Clarkson tells us, " that gentleman perused *all* " the colonial laws, to find any favourable clauses, " by which the grievances of slaves would be " redressed ; but he was severely disappointed in " his pursuit." Why did Mr. Clarkson rely on Mr. Ramsay's word, and not examine those laws himself ? he had the same means of recurring to them that Mr. Ramsay had ! I venture to say, that, if he had examined them himself, he would have found Mr. Ramsay to be mistaken. He praises Mr. Ramsay for having written his book at the expence of forfeiting those friendships which he had contracted by a long residence in the West-Indies. Others say he wrote the book in question, to shew his resentment against those people, with whom he had lived, and had, from his conduct, made almost the whole of them his enemies. Whether Mr. Ramsay's private fortune has been hurt or benefited by his book, is of no importance to the question in dispute ; which is, whether his account of the treatment slaves receive in the West Indies, is such as Mr. Ramsay and Mr. Clarkson state it to be ? or whether Mr. Tobin's account, which every man acquainted with the West Indies will confirm, be consistent with truth ?

We

We rely not on the evidence of planters and merchants in our favour, but on that of the governors and admirals who have been resident, and stationed many years, among us. Yet we insist that merchants and planters are fully as competent and disinterested witnesses, as men irritated by resentment, or writing for an academical prize. Even were there no such exceptions against these two gentlemen, they could not expect candid people would not perceive the language of them both to be that of prejudice and passion.

Mr. Clarkson, in his eager desire to defame the gentlemen in the Sugar Colonies, is hardy enough to assert, “ that he has had the very best means of
 “ information on the subject, having the pleasure
 “ of being acquainted with many, both in the
 “ naval and military departments, as well as with
 “ several others, who have been long acquainted
 “ with America and the West India Islands. The
 “ facts, therefore, that he has related, are com-
 “ piled from the disinterested accounts of such
 “ people, *all* of whom have coincided *in the mi-
 “ nutest manner* in their descriptions. These facts
 “ were compiled not from what these gentlemen
 “ heard, but what they saw. The accounts of these
 “ *disinterested* gentlemen are confirmed by all
 “ the books Mr. Clarkson has ever perused upon
 “ slavery, except those which have been written
 “ by merchants, planters, &c. They are con-

“firmed by Sir Hans Sloane’s voyage to Barbadoes, &c.” The gentleman doth protest too much, methinks. If these assertions should not only be improbable, but impossible, what reply will Mr. Clarkson be able to make? and how is it possible that what his informants saw with their own eyes, can be confirmed by Sir Hans Sloane’s voyage to Barbadoes a century ago?

Mr. Clarkson’s first fact (*p.* 128) as he acknowledges it may be said to be *imaginary*, we will say no more about. His second is, that 20,000 slaves generally die in every annual transportation.

The third *Item* consists of a multitude of horrid facts, which, if true, would more than corroborate his second.

The fourth is the infamous conduct of *Collingwood*, which we acknowledge to be true in part.

The fifth charges the *brutal receivers* (where filial, conjugal, or parental affection, detain the slaves in the *Sale-yard*, in each other’s embraces) with separating them by the whip.

The sixth is an account of the murder of a Negro in the *Sale-yard*.

Now, altho’ (properly speaking) none of these circumstances, except the two last, respect the slavery of the Africans in the European Colonies, yet it may be right to notice them. In the first place, it is merely an assertion of Mr. Clarkson, that 100,000 slaves are the number annually exported from

from Africa. On the contrary, the general calculation does not make them amount to much above half that number ; from which deduct those the Portuguese send to the Brazils, (which are not sent in crowded ships,) and there is no reason to believe that 40,000 are sent to all the other European Colonies. Is it probable, therefore, that 20,000 * should be annually lost in the transportation ?

* The vehemence of Mr. Clarkson's humanity, has betrayed him into such glaring contradictions, that it may not be amiss to bring a few of them into one point of view, in proof that his pen has neither been guided by truth, candour, or common sense.

In the preface to his *Essay*, p. 9, he says, " most of the
" Slaves, unconditionally freed by the Quakers, returned
" without solicitation to their former masters, to serve them
" at stated wages as *freemen*. The work they did then, was
" better done than before, and more of it in the same time."

Does not this prove, contrary to his assertion, p. 148, of the *Essay*, " that Slaves are *not* oppressed by a daily task
" of such immoderate labour, as human nature is utterly
" unable to perform, and that freemen, to earn their daily
" bread, are obliged to work harder than Slaves ?"

Essay, p. 94, of 100,000 Slaves annually exported from Africa, only one in 100 are prisoners of war or convicts.

P. 129, 20,000 perish in the transportation.

P. 139. 20,000 more are killed in the seasoning, that is within two years ; so that 30,000, he says, are annually killed by these means ; which will leave an annual supply of 70,000.

P. 252. We are told 100,000 are destroyed before one useful individual is obtained. Thus if 70,000 are annually obtained,

portation? When they are put on board the ships in Africa, Mr. Clarkson tells us, “ some “ refuse all nourishment, and starve themselves “ to death; others have leapt into the sea, to “ terminate their miseries at once; others at- “ tempting to rise, some of them have been “ killed on the spot; some have been taken from “ the hold, been bruised and mutilated, in the “ most shocking and barbarous manner, and have “ been returned, bleeding, to their companions, “ as a sad example of resistance; while others, “ tied to the ropes of the ship, and mangled al- “ ternately, with the whip and knife, have been

obtained, the number murdered in obtaining them, with those which die in the transportation and seasoning, must amount annually to 7,000,000,000, (seven billions). Gracious God! (says he) what a multitude!

P. 140. He had not increased his number of *buckram-men* so greatly. He then says, no more than 40,000 are destroyed before the colonies obtain any additional stocks. Indeed, he forgets, at the bottom of that page, what he says in the middle of it. In the former, he makes the whole number destroyed by transportation, and disease, no more than 50,000 in two years.

P. 95. He shews, only 1 in 100 of the Negroes transported, are convicts or prisoners of war.

P. 252. He makes the number of prisoners of war only 10 per cent. instead of one, that he may, from thence alledge 60,000 are killed, in order to obtain 6000 prisoners.—But I will not fatigue you further with an enumeration of such absurdities.

“ left

"left in that horrid situation till they have expired."

Is it possible, Sir, such a description can be true? Indeed, if such things happened on board the slave ships, is it probable one in ten of these slaves should reach the West Indies? That an obstinate Negro may have refused all food, and have starved himself; that one or more Negroes may have leapt overboard; that mutinies may have happened, in the quelling of which some lives may have been lost, are facts which we may believe; but it is scarce possible, when a mutiny has subsided, that the captain of the ship should wound and mutilate any of the remainder; or tie them up, and leave them mangled, with the whip and knife, till they expire. What a heart must he possess, who can wantonly accuse any men of such barbarity without a shadow of proof! We may venture to say, that not in one ship of fifty, does any Negro refuse all nourishment, in order to starve himself;—that not from one ship in twenty, do any of the Negroes leap overboard with intent to destroy themselves;—that there is not a mutiny on board one in twenty of the slave ships;—and that there is not one ship in a thousand, where any of the survivors of a mutiny have been treated in the manner described by Mr. Clarkson: nor is there any chance at all that all these things should have happened on board
any

any one ship. Consequently, we may safely assert, that it is absolutely impossible that all the *disinterested gentlemen* he speaks of in his preface, can have seen these things, even if true, or *have coincided in the minutest particulars* in such a dreadful description. The infamous transaction of Collingwood, has surely nothing to do with the Planters treatment of their Slaves. The man, however, did not make the excuse which Mr. Clarkson puts in his mouth :—his excuse was, the “ want of water ; and, that it was better some “ should be destroyed, than the whole perish.” But the real fact is said in *Jamaica*, to be, the man was mad ; and died so very shortly after his arrival at *Kingston*.

It is to be hoped this latter account is the truth, and Mr. Clarkson, now a minister of the gospel, ought, in charity, to believe it :—but what, if true, has the execrable barbarity of one man to do with the slave trade ; or the treatment which the Negroes receive from the Planters ? Had he lived, he was liable to have been punished for murder, if he wantonly threw those slaves overboard ; if it was really a matter of necessity for the salvation of the rest, what is it to the Planters, that there was a dispute between the owners of the ship and cargo, and the underwriters, who should bear the loss : the infamy of that litigation rests with the parties. There only remains to be
adverted

adverted to, the account given us by one, who, Mr. Clarkson tells us, is a person of the “ strictest integrity,” at present resident in England, “ who has furnished other instances of the Planters cruelty to their slaves, such as the *Essayist* never met with before,” and I dare say never will again. He does us the honour to furnish his readers with them in the fourth chapter, marked with inverted commas. That we may examine the evidence of this *concealed man*, of strict integrity, let us bring all these passages together, in one view.

“ The perpetrator of a cruel murder, committed in open day light, in the most public part of a town, the seat of government, escaped every other notice, than the *curse* of a few of the *more humane witnesses* of his barbarity.”

“ An officer of a Guinea ship, conducting some new slaves from the slave yard to the ship, observing a stout fellow among them, rather slow in his motions, quickened them with his rattan. He soon after fell down, and was raised by the same application. Moving forwards a few yards, he fell down again, which being considered as a proof of his sullen perverse spirit, the enraged officer repeated his blows, till he expired at his feet. The brute then ordered the other slaves to throw him into the sea to feed

“ feed the sharks. *The not more inhuman Sharks.*”
Essay, p. 134.

“ A boy having received six slaves as a present
 “ from his father, immediately slit their ears, and
 “ for the following reason, that, as his father was
 “ a whimsical man, he might claim them again,
 “ unless they were marked.” *Essay*, p. 145.

“ An iron coffin, with holes in it, was kept by a
 “ certain colonist, as an auxiliary to the lash. In
 “ this the poor victim of the master’s resentment
 “ was enclosed, and placed sufficiently near a
 “ fire, to occasion extreme pain, and conse-
 “ quently shrieks and groans, until the revenge of
 “ the master was satiated, without any other in-
 “ convenience, on his part, than a suspension of
 “ the slave’s labour. Had he been flogged to
 “ death, or his limbs mutilated, the interest of
 “ the brutal tyrant would have suffered a more
 “ irreparable loss.” p. 146.

“ Advertisements have frequently appeared
 “ there,” (*q. where?*) “ offering a reward for
 “ apprehending fugitive slaves, either alive or
 “ dead. The following instance was given us by
 “ a person of *unquestionable veracity*, under whose
 “ own observation it fell. As he was travelling
 “ in one of the colonies alluded to, he observed
 “ some people in pursuit of a poor wretch, who
 “ was seeking in the *wilderness*, an asylum from
 “ his labours. He heard the discharge of a gun,
 “ and

“ and soon after stopping at an house for refreshment, the head of the fugitive, still reeking with blood, was brought in, and laid upon a table, with exultation. The production of such a trophy was the proof required by law to intitle the heroes to their reward.” p. 149. These are all the facts marked with inverted commas, as the instances of colonial cruelty, given by *this man of the strictest integrity*, p. 133, and *unquestionable veracity*, p. 149. To these I answer, in the first place, that it is very inconsistent with a man of *strict integrity*, to tell such improbable stories, and *conceal himself*. If he is a man of integrity, his name would do his tale no injury; but had Mr. Clarkson told us even the colony where these acts are said to have happened, we might be able to disprove them; we can only at present, shew the improbability of their having happened.

The first story cannot relate to the island of *Jamaica*, where slaves are not sold at the seat of government, nor in a slave yard, but on board the ship. If any other place was named, we might be able to judge whether the British Planter is the parry accused, or whether the transaction he mentions, is said to have happened in a French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, or American colony,

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The second story of the boy's flitting the ears of the slaves given him by his father, is equally improbable. Slaves, in all the English islands, pass by deed; and unless the conveyance of such slaves was made, the father could claim them again, even if their ears were slit. If such a fact happened, it is most probable the boy was whipt, for having been guilty of such a piece of cruelty. I will take this opportunity of replying to another charge of cruelty against the planter, for *branding his slaves*. This practice, which prevails in Jamaica, and, I believe in that British island only, is neither cruel nor unnecessary. A silver brand, with the initial letters of the purchaser's name, or his plantation mark, is heated enough to raise the scarf-skin, and applied to the fleshy part of the breast or shoulder, previously rubbed with spirits of wine. The place is immediately dressed with sweet oil. The operation is momentary. The pain cannot be half so considerable as a young lady must feel on having her ears bored. The mark serves to enable every person, who should meet a new Negro, who has strayed from the plantation he belongs to, and is able to tell his master's name, to send or conduct him home. In some of the Windward Islands, this practice is rare, because Negroes cannot travel far from their owner's plantation without being stopped, as every inhabitant knows who have bought such Negroes,
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and whether any one of them is missing from the plantation he belongs to. Every person, the least acquainted with negroes, must know, that it is their custom, in their own country, to distinguish the different people by particular marks, and cuts on their skins. Some are *tattooed*, as it is called by Captain Cook, all over. This practice, which is general throughout Africa, will surely convince any one, that negroes will neither be alarmed nor displeased at *this act of cruelty*.

The story of the *iron coffin* with holes in it, is so absurd and ridiculous, it scarcely deserves a serious reply. I boldly answer, *it is false*; and dare Mr. Clarkson, or his informer, to name the plantation, or the colony, where such a transaction happened, or to which such a coffin was ever sent; for there is not an island in the West Indies where they are able to make one. The tale of separating affectionate relations, or friends, from the embraces of each other, by lashing them with the whip, till they part, no man of common sense will credit. If, as it sometimes happens, particularly among the females, those who are related, or who have contracted acquaintances or friendships with each other on board, shew their attachment, by holding one another's hands, or throwing the arms of one around the other, it is often a reason why a Planter prefers purchasing both; but if not, some one, who speaks their language,

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explains

explains to them the necessity of parting, soothing them, at the same time, with the expectation of their seeing one another again frequently. Sometimes there may be people who do not take such precaution in separating them; but I dare refer myself to any gentleman in England, who ever saw slaves sold, to point out a single instance where a whip was ever employed, to oblige slaves, embracing one another upon such an occasion, to separate.

With respect to the next shameful tale, I am equally at a loss to guess where such a fact can be supposed to have happened. Conversant, as I have long been, with almost all the British sugar colonies, I never knew or heard of any one of them where frequent advertisements have appeared, offering rewards for apprehending fugitive slaves alive or *dead*. If he produces *any such advertisement*, in any one of the sugar colonies, I pledge myself to shew, that it was for the apprehension of some dangerous and desperate malefactor, whose life had been forfeited to public justice, for having been guilty of murder, *arson*, or some dreadful and atrocious crime, and not because he had been a fugitive only. To shew that such a story is scandalously untrue, and that such advertisements cannot have been frequent, I will venture to assert, what the Jamai-

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ta Report * confirms, that, throughout all the British sugar colonies, there is not one Negro in two thousand who suffers capitally in a year, for any crimes whatsoever, except when there has been a rebellion, which I do not remember to have happened for many years past in any of the British islands.

Thus much as to the particular facts alleged by Mr. Clarkson, on the credit of his anonymous informers. Will not Mr. Clarkson be a little confused, when he reflects, that he has assured his readers (*Pref. p. xxiv.*), "That the facts which he has related are compiled from the *disinterested* accounts of *all* the *many* gentlemen whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted with, both in the naval and military departments, as well as others who have been long acquainted with America and the West Indies"—"That they were compiled too, not from what these gentlemen heard, but *what they saw*"—All these people have coincided in the minutest manner in their descriptions?"—I beg to be permitted to ask Mr. Clarkson, if the stories told by the melancholy African (*p. 118, to 127*)

* Report of a Committee of the Assembly, on the allegations contained in the petitions presented to the British House of Commons on the subject of the *slave-trade*.—November, 1788.

127) are vouched by all these disinterested witnesses? Did they all hear the shrieks, the rattling of chains, the prayers and imprecations he speaks of? Did they even coincide in opinion, that they might have *all* seen those melancholy and affecting scenes, if they had been in Africa? Do *all* these disinterested witnesses coincide in relating, that 20,000 Negroes are annually lost in the transportation of them? Did *all* these gentlemen see any of the Negroes in the slave ships starve themselves to death, or leap overboard, to terminate their miseries at once? Or did they *all* see the mutinies on board, and the scenes of barbarity consequent thereon—some killed on the spot, others taken from the hold, bruised and mutilated in the most barbarous and shocking manner, and returned bleeding to their companions; others mangled alternately with the whip and knife, and left in that condition, tied to the ropes of the ship, till they expired*? Do *all* these gentlemen tell you they have

* In searching accurately in Astley's Collection, I find an account in Snelgrave of a mutiny on board a vessel commanded by a Captain *Meservey*, whose incautious kindness it was that occasioned it, in which the Negroes murdered the Captain. The mate was obliged to fire one of the quarter-deck guns among them, which caused many to jump overboard—others of them were killed by the discharge. These Negroes were *Cormantin* prisoners of war sold for slaves. Many of them were fullen, and starved themselves; and they attempted to revolt after their arrival in Jamaica, and shewed such

have seen the wife or mother separated from the husband or the son, by the cruel *second receiver*, by means of the lash? Do his witnesses all agree in these circumstances *in the minutest particular*?—He will surely blush to tell us, these are not any of the facts his evidences attest. These are, however, very heavy accusations, which ought not to be made without very strong proofs to support them. They are, for the most part, general charges against the African traders, and not against the planters. But does he bring this cloud of disinterested witnesses to attest the particular facts which he has asserted?—On the contrary, he does not even pretend that he has more than one witness to each fact. He says,
he

such a disposition, that none of the planters would purchase them. This happened in 1718. Indeed, prudent planters never chuse to purchase such as they think have been taken prisoners in battle.

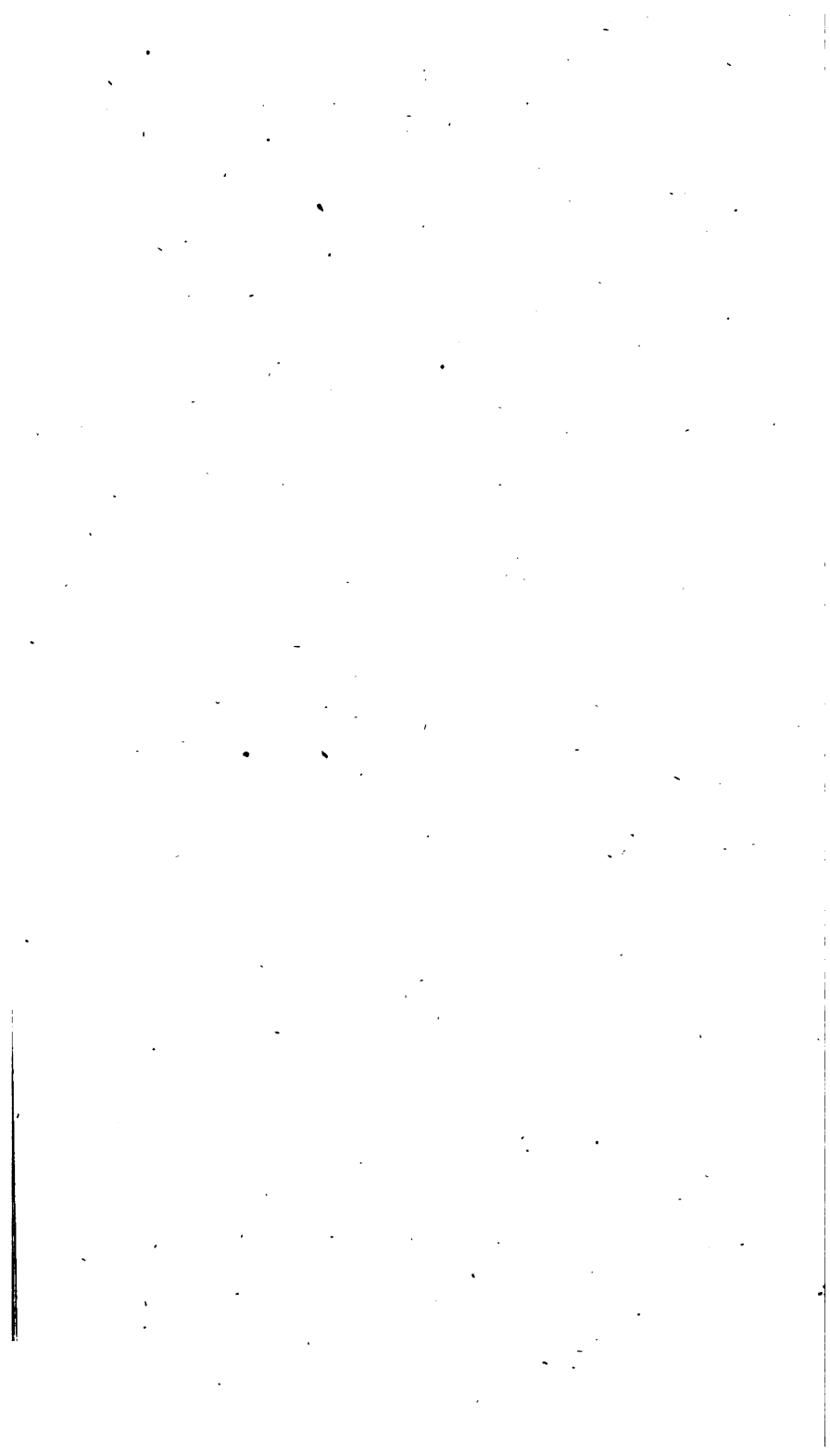
Another account of a mutiny on board a Bristol ship, in 1721, was followed by a most cruel action of the Captain, who put three of the mutineers to death; and a woman, who was concerned in the murder of the slaves, he hoisted by the thumbs, and whipped and slashed with knives till she died.

These two extraordinary occurrences, however unfortunate the one, or infamous the other, will scarcely be considered, by any man of candour or common sense, a sufficient justification of Mr. Clarkson, for the general charges and accusations he has thought proper to bring against the persons concerned in the African trade.

he has received information of this ~~or~~ that fact from a person of strict integrity; another *, he does not think it necessary to say he has any voucher for. But when Mr. Clarkson has declared to his readers, that the facts which he has related are compiled from the disinterested accounts of many gentlemen, all of whom coincide in their relations in the minutest particulars, and he afterwards relates a number of incredible particulars, which constitute a considerable part of his information, thrown into the form of a narrative (p. 187.) for which he only thinks proper to tell us the most undeniable evidence *can* be produced, (p. 228.) what opinion ought we to have of his integrity; or what right has he to expect the world to take his word for the truth of these solitary witnesses to facts, the improbability of which a cloud of unimpeached evidence would scarce justify our giving effect to? Before we finish our observations on the particular facts adduced by Mr. Clarkson to the prejudice of the planters, it may not be improper to remark, that, even if they were all true, it must appear very extraordinary, that so industrious a compiler could not collect, throughout all the colonies, of all nations

* The boy's flitting the Negro's ears.

nations of the continent and islands, but so very few instances of West Indian cruelty, as those which Mr. Clarkson has picked up or invented ! —This circumstance is an incontrovertible proof of the general good treatment of the West India Negroes in the sugar colonies.



L E T T E R VIII.

November 30. 1788.

DEAR SIR,

THE misrepresentations of Mr. Clarkson, in quoting different passages of the same or of different authors, made at different times, and upon different occasions, without quoting either volume or page, are numerous. To give a glaring proof of that kind, it will not be thought improper, perhaps, to shew the manner in which he has availed himself of Professor Spaarman's authority, to serve his purpose of making the traffic of the Europeans for slaves, to transport them to America, appear odious to his readers; although, if all he advances on that head was just, it would have a contrary tendency, as it would shew the unhappy situation of the natives even in Africa: for, if they are treated with barbarity, and oppressed by their neighbours, whether such neighbours are Negroes or Dutchmen, a change of habitation, to a country where they are better treated, cannot make them wretched. Mr. Clarkson's quotation from Spaarman (which I mean
here

here to notice) is taken in part from vol. i. and the remainder from vol. ii. particularly from p. 143.—and although the Professor tells us, he only learned the facts from the report of people whose language he very imperfectly understood, and, therefore, we may reasonably suppose, he might misunderstand his informers, or, if he did not, considering who such informers were, and the strong bias people in general have to exaggerate in their relation of facts, implicit faith ought not easily to be afforded them—Mr. Clarkson has united these several passages, which mention, that pregnant women, and children in their tenderest years, are not exempt from the effects of the hatred and spirit of vengeance constantly harboured by the colonists with respect to the Boshies Men nation.

That they spirit up their horses and dogs to hunt them, with more fury and ardor than they would a wolf, or any other wild beast. They charge their heavy fire arms with a very large kind of shot, so that the balls go through the bodies of six, seven, or eight of the enemy at a time.

“ And not only is the capture of the Hottentots considered by them merely as a party of pleasure, but in cold blood they destroy the bands which nature has knit between their husband, and their wives and children, &c.”

“ With

“ With what horror do these passages strike
 “ us ! What indignation do they raise in our
 “ breasts, when we reflect, that a part of the
 “ human species are considered as *game*, and that
 “ parties of pleasure are made for their *destruction* !
 “ The lion does not embroe his claws in blood,
 “ unless called upon by hunger, or provoked by
 “ interruption ; whereas the merciless Dutch,
 “ more savage than the Brutes themselves, not
 “ only murder their fellow creatures without any
 “ provocation or necessity, but even make a di-
 “ version of their sufferings, and enjoy their
 “ pain.”

Why does Mr. Clarkson introduce such a de-
 scription of the unhappy state of the Negroes in
 Africa, in a treatise expressly wrote to shew the
 inhumanity of carrying them away from that
 country ? But the persons who treat them with
 such inhumanity are Europeans ; a people of so
 diabolical a disposition, that the most inhuman
 and barbarous massacres are sports and pastime
 to them. But can any of his readers suppose,
 that the parties of pleasure, and the kind of di-
 version he speaks of, can be made and pursued,
 even by Dutchmen, without any the least cause,
 but merely to butcher one part of these unhappy
 wretches, and enslave the rest, without the least
 provocation ? Is it possible his readers should
 suppose, as the fact really is, that the natives
 of

of the Cape, the Hottentots, are not slaves to the Colonists; but that, on the contrary, they are freemen, and treated by the Dutch inhabitants with attention and kindness?

With respect to that race of them with whom they are at enmity, it is only necessary to quote what the Professor says, to shew Mr. Clarkson's want of candour, in not giving an account of the cause of the enmity between these people and the Colonists.

“ There is another species of Hottentots, who
 “ have got the name of *Bosbies Men*, from dwell-
 “ ing in woody or mountainous places, who are
 “ sworn enemies to the pastoral life. Some of
 “ their maxims are, to live on hunting and
 “ plunder, and never to keep any animal alive
 “ for the space of one night. By this means
 “ they render themselves odious to the rest of
 “ mankind, and are pursued and exterminated,
 “ like the wild beasts, whose manners they have
 “ assumed. Others of them again are kept alive,
 “ and made slaves of. Their weapons are poi-
 “ soned arrows. The poison they always cull of
 “ the most virulent kind, and they have only to
 “ wait a few minutes to see the wounded object
 “ languish and die,” &c. Vol. i. p. 197. And
 again, vol. ii. p. 141. immediately preceding
 the greater part of Mr. Clarkson's quotation, he
 says, “ The inhabitants, indeed, of the more
 “ distant

“ distant snow mountains, are sometimes oblig-
 “ ed, according to report, entirely to relinquish
 “ their dwellings and habitations, on account of
 “ the savage plundering race of Boshies Men,
 “ who, from their hiding places, shooting their
 “ poisoned arrows at the shepherd, kill him, and
 “ afterwards drive away the whole of his flock,
 “ which, perhaps, consists of several hundred
 “ sheep, and forms the chief, if not the whole,
 “ of the farmer’s property. What they cannot
 “ drive away with them, they kill and wound,
 “ as much as their time will allow them, while
 “ they are making their retreat. It is in vain
 “ to pursue them, they being very swift of
 “ foot.”

Would it have been more than a bare piece of justice in Mr. Clarkson to have mentioned these causes of the spirit of vengeance, and hatred entertained by the Colonists against these people?

I have now finished my remarks on what Mr. Clarkson has thought proper to assert respecting the conduct of the Europeans in Africa; and I now proceed to Mr. Clarkson’s more general accusations against the Planters, for maltreating their slaves. “ Their labours are excessive; that
 “ is, they toil sixteen hours in the day for their
 “ master—three hours more in their own necessary concerns,—so that they cannot get to rest
 “ until

" until midnight, and they have only five hours
 " to sleep in. In crop time, their mills are go-
 " ing night and day, and their hours of refresh-
 " ment are reduced to three and a half, which
 " before were too short for that purpose. In
 " consequence of this, many of those who feed
 " the mills become drowsy, and have their
 " limbs ground off, by their getting between
 " the cylinders which grind the canes. That
 " they have not sufficient clothing; are almost
 " starved; are severely punished for the slightest
 " faults by the whip, which cuts out small por-
 " tions of the flesh at every stroke. That the
 " slave, when pierced by the excruciating pangs
 " of hunger, dares not complain; that the eat-
 " ing a cane, to save himself from starving, a
 " cane which, perhaps, his own hand has plant-
 " ed, is a crime of so black a dye, that his or-
 " dinary punishment is so severe a whipping,
 " as, in wet weather, to have caused the delin-
 " quent's death. The smart of the whip, the
 " smack of which is in the ears of those who are
 " in the neighbourhood of a plantation all day
 " long, is not the only pain the wretched Afri-
 " cans experience; any thing which passion could
 " seize, and convert into an instrument of pu-
 " nishment has been used. The very knife has
 " not been overlooked in the fit of phrensy. Ears
 " have been slit, eyes have been beat out, bones
 " have

“ have been broken; and so frequently has
 “ this been the case, that it has been a matter
 “ of constant lamentation with people, who, out
 “ of curiosity, have attended the markets to
 “ which these people resort, particularly in Ja-
 “ maica, that they never have been able to
 “ cast their eyes on any group of them, but
 “ they have beheld these inhuman marks of
 “ passion, despotism, and caprice. They are
 “ driven to desperation—they creep out of sight,
 “ and go in search of food in their master’s or
 “ some neighbouring plantation. The watch-
 “ man seizes them in the fact—no excuse will
 “ avail—he must punish them on the spot for an
 “ example; not with a stick, not with a whip,
 “ but with a cutlass. Thus it happens that these
 “ unhappy slaves, if they are taken, are either
 “ sent away mangled in a barbarous manner, or
 “ are killed upon the spot.” Horrid picture of
 West India tyranny and brutality! And this is
 drawn upon the authority of people whose names
 Mr. Clarkson ventures not to produce.

Are these the informations in which all the dis-
 interested gentlemen he speaks of agree in the
 minutest particulars? Are these accounts con-
 firmed by all the books Mr. Clarkson ever pe-
 rused upon slavery? I challenge Mr. Clarkson
 to produce a single man of decent character who
 ever gave him such an account. I do not mean

a gentleman—I do not mean even a white man : I defy him to produce a Negro of character who would not *turn pale* in fabricating such assertions. I call upon Mr. Clarkson to produce any book he ever perused, even Mr. Ramsay's (whose accounts are completely proved to be untrue by Mr. Tobin), in which he found such stories related. These accusations are absolutely made without the slightest evidence to corroborate, much less to verify them. They rest on the simple declaration of an obscure student in an English university, or who, if rescued from obscurity, is only so from being exposed to public view by the flaming torch of slander, which he brandishes in his hand. Not contented with detailing every instance of cruelty, oppression, or caprice, which he may have heard of, or some conceited individuals may have manifested, he expands them into a charge against all the white inhabitants of the West Indies, and as the general conduct of the whole. He asserts, that the Negroes are murdered at the caprice and discretion of their masters. He charges the owners of slaves in the West Indies with the premeditated murder of *fifty thousand of them*. (*Essay*, p. 232.)

Illustrious Senators ! Members of the British Parliament ! Guardians of our liberty and honour ! Framers of our laws, by which the lives, the fortunes, and the reputations of British subjects

jects are protected! how long may it be permitted to an individual thus scandalously to vilify and traduce a whole community, and excite their fellow subjects to execrate and renounce them! How long are these injured people to be without means, either collectively or individually, of obtaining legal redress, or chastising the libeller, who has wantonly dared to calumniate them in a manner so nefarious?

Mr. Clarkson is not only our accuser, but our judge. He rejects the testimony of merchants or planters: their account of the manner in which Negroes are treated in the West Indies is not to be received at his tribunal. The colonial laws, the accounts transmitted from the Governors and the legislative bodies in the several islands, will, no doubt, be over-ruled by Mr. Clarkson, as coming from interested men, in comparison with himself and his anonymous informers.

However, trusting the defence of the general conduct of the planters towards their slaves to the testimony of those very respectable sea officers who have appeared on behalf of the planters before the Privy Council, and to the accounts of it already published by gentlemen whose situation has given them the best means of being acquainted with it, which we presume prove, to the conviction of every dispassionate mind, that the labour

bour of the colonial Negroe is not excessive, as Mr. Clarkson represents it to be*; and that, in crop time, in particular, when it certainly is the hardest, the superior degree of health and vigour, which the Negroes enjoy, is a complete refutation of that gentleman's general charge. I shall content myself with replying to some few of his other observations. That unfortunate accidents, of a Negroe's losing a hand, or an arm, by the mill, while feeding it, have sometimes happened, is true; but they are so rare, that I have no doubt, where *one* such misfortune occurs in a year, throughout the whole British sugar colonies, four or five persons fall from the shafts of a dray, or a cart, and are crushed to death, in London only, and generally from the same cause, which is not drowiness, but carelessness or ebriety. As to the charge of "frequent mutilations of Negroes from passion, "the flitting or cutting of ears," and "breaking "bones," said to be so visible in the markets of *Jamaica*, I declare the assertion is absolutely false, and that no such objects meet the eye there. That, so far from observing the scars upon them, occasioned by "small portions of "flesh being cut out by the lash of the whip "for the slightest offences," I assert, that even
the

* Essay, p. 141.

the visible mark of a lash on a Negroe's back is very uncommon, and must happen by accident : and, if it was otherwise, such " marks of cruelty " could not meet the eye ; because there is not one Negroe in twenty, who comes to market, but has a shirt or jacket on, and none without trowsers. So far are the Negroes, who visit the markets, from having the appearance of misery, they are, in general, as healthy and robust people as are to be found in any part of Europe *.

I doubt not I shall obtain credit for the preceding assertion, if it be recollected, that many thousand Negroe slaves, of all conditions, have been seen in England for thirty years past, and particularly house-servants, who, by being more immediately in the presence of their masters, if these were in reality such cruel passionate tyrants as they have been represented, would be more particularly exposed to their resentment and caprice. If, among so many of these people, any
blinded,

* It is possible, that persons from Europe, totally ignorant of Negroes, and the manner of treating them, when they have seen any with their African or country marks on their faces, might suppose them to be scars, indented by their masters ; as some of these national marks are very deeply impressed, such as those of the *Bambarras*, *Sefos*, *Breechy*, *Do*, and *Popo* natives, particularly the three last.

blinded, mutilated, poor creature should be met with, or even any one out of whose back small slices of flesh had been cut, we dare believe such an object would not have escaped the search of the diligent and humane Mr. Granville Sharpe, or Mr. Clarkson. Such a slave would have been as much caressed as an ancient martyr or confessor; and exhibited to the public as an incontestible proof of general West Indian cruelty. I will not deny but there have been instances of a Negroe having been mutilated by the cruelty of his owner or overseer; but I deny, that, when such a crime has been committed, the guilty perpetrator has not been liable to severe punishment, by the colonial laws, or by the common law of Great Britain; and, when the fact has been proved, such punishment has been inflicted on him. If, heretofore, mutilation was the penalty inflicted for some crimes, by any of the colonial laws, are we to be upbraided for the existence of such obsolete laws from England? There are to be found two species of mutilation inflicted by the former laws of some of the colonies; the cutting off the ear for repeated acts of desertion, and the loss of the hand for striking a white person, except in defence of his master, his person, or his property. Both these punishments are inflicted on certain offenders by English acts of parliament; and, to the shame of humanity,

the

the *statute of the 8th Elizabeth, cap. 3.* is suffered to remain in the statute book, whereby the person who shall be found guilty of transporting *any kind of sheep* out of the kingdom, besides being liable to other very severe penalties, is subject to have his hand cut off, which is to be nailed up in some public market place, on a market day.

I have asserted, that such objects as Mr. Clarkson declares are to be seen in every group of the Negroes who attend the weekly markets in Jamaica, are no where to be met with; but if any person has visited the Negro market at Kingston, in Jamaica, which, no doubt, numbers of gentlemen, both of the navy and army, now in England, have done, they will be able to testify, what persons who have not been eye witnesses to it will scarcely believe, that *at least ten thousand* Negroes attend it every Sunday, and bring with them all kind of roots, greens, herbs, and fruits, capons, fowls, pigs, pork, goats, fish, grass, wood, &c. for sale. That the value of what they bring to market, in this manner, is worth, one load or basket with another, from three to five shillings Sterling, which amounts from 1500l. to 2500l. a week, or from 78,000l. to 130,000l. Sterling a year*. The whole of this wealth we consider

* So far is this estimation from being exaggerated, I am fearful I shall be rather found to have very much undervalued the produce

consider as belonging exclusively to the Negroes of the neighbourhood of Kingston, that is, to those who bring the commodities to market, and to their friends and relations; and we may reasonably suppose the whole number of those who are interested in these goods cannot amount to more than *thirty thousand* persons, which are as many as can, with any probability, be supposed to be within the reach of that market, especially as *St. Jago de la Vega* is within thirteen miles of it, and the town of *Port Royal*, and the forts and soldiery, as well as the ships of war, are in its vicinity. What then may the wealth of the Negroe slaves throughout the island be reasonably estimated at? If riches constitute happiness, which I do not however assert, the Negroes, particularly the industrious ones, may be supposed to have a reasonable share of them. Mr. Clarkson cannot
be

of the goods brought to market every week by the Negroes; as a very respectable inhabitant of *Liguanea* (*Mathew Wallen, Esq.*) assures me, that the Negroes from the mountainous parts of that district, who are by far the greatest number of those who supply the *Kingston* market, do not bring less in value (one load with another) than from *ten shillings to twelve shillings Sterling*. It must be acknowledged, that strangers are apt to be misled, and suppose that the goods thus met with on the road do not belong to the Negroes who carry them; for, if they are asked to whom the poultry, fruit, &c. belongs, which they have in their baskets, it is generally replied, "*to our master.*" Every inhabitant, however, knows, that they are the Negroe's own; that the Negroes haggle for the best prices they can get, and apply all the money they thus receive, to their own independent uses.

be serious in referring us to the description of the happiness to be found in a cottage as a reality, however approved the authors may be who sportively say so; or however the rich may envy the happiness of the peasant, Mr. Clarkson does not mean we should suppose the rich man is desirous of changing stations with him. Does Mr. Clarkson really believe, that the European poor labourer justly considers himself as absolutely free, or that his children will continue to be so? or that he partakes, equally with his superior, of the protection of the law? If any peasant can be of that opinion, it must be an English one. Permit me to examine how far he is entitled to make such a boast.

In what light are we to look upon the man, who, by 4 & 5 of *William III. cap. 23.* may be sent to the house of correction for a month, whipped, and kept to hard labour for that time, for keeping a dog, or having an engine to catch fish found in his possession; or a hare, partridge, pheasant, or pigeon, without being able to account for such his possession *to the satisfaction of a justice of peace?*

May not a man's son be taken from him at a very tender age, and bound apprentice, until he is *twenty-four years old*, to whom and where the church-wardens or overseers of the poor of any parish, with the consent of two justices of peace,

may think proper? and is not this apprentice subject to the arbitrary correction and punishment such master shall think proper to inflict on him—the subjection to which, most people, who are judges of the circumstance, consider as by much the hardest part of the Negroe's slavery? If such correction should accidentally cause the death of such apprentice (provided it is not given with an improper instrument), is the master considered as guilty of murder, but only homicide by misadventure? 1. *Haw. 73.*

Is not a man who thinks himself unable to maintain such apprentice, or who objects to receive him, for reasons which, perhaps, he ought to be at liberty to judge of, forced to take him, under an heavy penalty? 8 & 9 *William III. cap. 30.* And in what light are we to look upon the man, who, by the same act of parliament, is not allowed to leave the parish he is settled in, where he can get no work, to go and reside in another, where he could easily maintain himself, without being liable to be sent back to such his last settlement?—or him who, “*not being a gentleman born,*” is compellable to serve any person, as an husbandry servant, who shall require him so to do? 5 *Elizabeth, cap. 4.*

Can that man be free, who, being able to prevail on people to give him alms sufficient to maintain himself in idleness, shall yet be obliged
to



to work, or be subject to be sent to the house of correction, and kept there to hard labour for three months, and also to be publicly whipped *till his body be bloody?* 17 George II.

Can it be said that a man partakes equally with his superiors of the protection of the law, when a worthless individual, *who "is born a gentleman,"* or entitled to be called an *Esquire*, shall not be compellable to work; shall be entitled to hunt, to shoot, or to fish, without being subject to be kept to hard labour in the workhouse, or be whipped *till his body be bloody?* Is there any equality in the law which will ruin a poor man if he kills a hare, a pheasant, or a partridge, bred and nourished, perhaps, on the land he rents, and with the corn he has sown; and which permits his lordly superiour to bring his hounds and horses into the croft, or small garden, from whence this poor man and his family derive three fourths of their subsistence, and trample on and destroy the fruits of his labour with impunity?

How is the poor man protected against the rich by the law, to which, if the former has recourse for such protection, he is sure to be ruined by the expences he will be put to in seeking redress? Yet such is the condition of the poor man in *England*, where it is truly asserted, the poor are more free, and better protected by the laws,

laws, than in the rest of Europe. The country we are best acquainted with, next to our own, is that of *France*—let us examine into the situation of the poor there, where it is the boast of the people that slavery is unknown. *Ferriere*, in his *Diét. de Droit*, sur le mot *Eslaves*, says, “ Il n’y a
 “ point esclave en France ; si tôt qu’un esclave y
 “ entre, il acquiert la liberté.”—But the same author tells you, sur le mot *Serfs*, “ Il y a deux sortes
 “ des serfs et gens de mainmort : les uns le sont
 “ par la naissance ; ils sont obligés de payer une
 “ taille a leur seigneur ; de ne se pouvoir marier
 “ a des personnes d’une autre condition, c’est a
 “ dire, francs, ou serfs d’un autre seigneur ; ils
 “ ne peuvent aussi embrasser l’état ecclesiastique,
 “ sans le consentement de leur seigneur ; ils ne
 “ peuvent aliéner le tenement serf, qu’a des serfs
 “ de même seigneur ; ils ne peuvent disposer de
 “ leurs biens par testament, ni faire heretier, ou
 “ convention de succeder même par contrât de
 “ mariage, au prejudice de leur seigneur ; ils
 “ n’ont point d’autres heretiers, que ceux avec
 “ lesquels ils sont en communauté.”

Notwithstanding it is asserted, that slavery does not exist in *France*, such restraints as people called *serfs et gens de mainmort* are under, will not let them be looked upon by Englishmen as *perfectly free*. What other restrictions poor people in France are subject to, I am not very well informed;

formed ; but, in regard to *bezzars* and *vagabonds*, the orders of government respecting them are very severe. They are called *Gibier de Prevôt*—
 “ On les arrête, et on les enferme, dans les en-
 “ droits de dépôt * destinés a cet effet dans le
 “ différentes parties du royaume.” With respect to the other species of poor people, such as have a place of abode, and are aged and infirm, we need no other proof of their distress and misery, than the testimony of every English traveller who has ever passed through the country, who will tell you, that, wherever he has stopped to change horses, numbers of poor unhappy people crowded round his post-chaise, soliciting the boon of a single *liard*. Ignorant of the state of the poor in other parts of Europe, I can only hope it is not more deplorable than in those I am acquainted with. Let any man of candour declare, whether

* Depots, ou Renfermeries,

Prisons de nouvelle institution, imaginees pour debarrasser promptement les rues et les chemins de mendicants, a fin que l'on ne voye plus la misere suppliant a cote du faste insolent.

On les plonge, avec la derniere inhumanite, dans des demeures fetides et tenebreuses, ou on les laisse livres a eux-memes. L'insalubrité, la mauvaise nourriture, l'abandon ou ils sont, l'entassement des compagnons de leur misere, ne tardent pas a les faire disparoitre, l'un apres l'autre.

Tableau de Paris, chap. 285. vol. iii. p. 177.

ther the state of servitude and bondage, in which the poor are held both in France and England, does not merit the name of *slavery*, and justify the assertion of its *universal* existence at present, as well as the opinion of its having existed from the remotest antiquity, and that it ever must exist in the world—that it is a *genus* of the state of man, of which the different kinds of servitude are distinct species—that, as it is impossible totally to eradicate it, or put a stop even to the sale and purchase of the Negroes in *Africa*, which is only *one* branch of the commerce of the human species, so the modification of the kind of servitude in usage in any country is not rashly to be attempted, nor, in any case, to be undertaken by persons not intimately acquainted with it in all its circumstances. Can any gentlemen in England, if they possessed the power, presume themselves competent to frame laws for the enfranchisement of all the *serfs* in *Russia* or *Poland*? Can any man believe, that, if those people were at this moment set free from all controul of their lords, and deprived of their cottages, and their present method of subsisting themselves, they would not be driven to pillage and devastation for their support? That such would be the consequence of giving a *nominal freedom* to the Negroes in the *West Indies* is most certain. They must, in such case, be compelled to work, by
 laws

laws far more severe than the present, and those laws must be much more rigorously executed than what they are now governed by. Neither could such severity be disapproved of by the people of any nation, who, however *free* their poor are, oblige them to work. The difficulty the poor find of subsisting themselves throughout *Europe*, even in Great Britain and Ireland, where liberty is so popular a theme, is evident, from the frequent *emigrations* we hear of. In what does their superior happiness consist?—In the power of abandoning their native country, and changing their masters.—Be it so. I do not mean to enter into a comparison between the different degrees of servitude. Let it be believed, that the Negroes, in that particular, experience an harder lot than Europeans. It in no degree invalidates the argument, that such a desire of change, such frequent emigrations of the poor of Europe, is very far from being a proof of a superior degree of happiness. Mr. Clarkson may, perhaps, maintain a contrary opinion. He may surely do it with as much propriety as that which he *sports* in his *Essay*, p. 226. That the dances and merry-makings of the Negroes in the West Indies “are
 “ so far from proceeding from any uncommon
 “ degree of happiness, which excites them to
 “ convivial society, that they proceed rather
 “ from an *uncommon depression of spirits*, which
 “ makes

“ makes them even sacrifice their rest for the
 “ sake of experiencing, *for a moment*, a more
 “ joyful oblivion of their cares. These dances
 “ are usually in the middle of the night; and
 “ so desirous are these *unfortunate* people of ob-
 “ taining but a *joyful hour*, that they not only
 “ give up their sleep, but add to the labours of
 “ the day, by going several miles to obtain it.”

I cannot but wonder, as dancing and merry-
 making are, in Mr. Clarkson's judgment, proofs
 of *an uncommon depression of spirits*, he does not
 bring the travelling of the Negroes several miles,
 after their work, to a dance, and their dancing
 all night, and (which they must do) travelling
 the same number of miles back again, by six
 o'clock in the morning, in proof of the insup-
 portable fatigue they underwent the day before!
 Mr. Clarkson, however, is more cruel to the
 Negroes than their *brutal and tyrannical receivers*.
 He will not allow them, *for a moment*, this joyful
hour of oblivion. He stops them in the middle
 of the dance, by making one of these *receivers*,
 wounded in conscience, offer them the choice of
 living half the week without labour, or the li-
 berty to return to their own country. “ This
 “ transporting sound, *their country!* interrupts the
 “ *festive scene*: you see them run to the shore,
 “ frantic with joy, demanding, *with open arms*,
 “ an instantaneous passage to their native plains.”

This

This rhapsody of Mr. Clarkson's *Essay* may be exquisitely fine and poetical ; it may elevate and surprise, *and all that*, as Mr. Bayes says.—A common man would have told us, that the Negroes demanded the passage to their *native plains* rather with *open mouths*, than open arms ; and would, perhaps, have made them ask, where the ships were, in which they were to be transported, before they ran to the shore *in the middle of the night*. But Mr. Clarkson has a very *strong* and *uncommon* way of describing things ! Does he, however, give us the least reason to think that the Negroes are really desirous of returning to their beloved *native plains*, unless it be, that they may dance *there for ever*, without interruption, without being even impelled to it by any uncommon depression of spirits, and *where* they may live without any other labour than this.

An *experiment*, it seems, has lately been made. A number of these unhappy people have been sent back to their *beloved native plains*. Let Mr. Clarkson tell us *truly* the result !—These people were sent too from England, where they were declared *free* ; which may account, perhaps, for their not being so very desirous of going back to their *happy native plains*, or feeling quite so much *transport* with the delightful sound of *country*. On the contrary, we are told, that, instead of demanding their passage with *open arms*, they held
up

up *their hands* against it; and that it was by refusing them subsistence, a few of them were prevailed on to embark; that many of them died on their passage, and the rest perished soon after their arrival in Africa. However much Mr. Clarkfon may be surpris'd at it, I can produce him an authentic instance of a Negro, who, without have any particular connections in Jamaica, to allure him, preferred living *there as a slave*, either to remaining in England *free*, or returning to his *happy native plains* in Africa.

“ Mr. Samuel Jebb, of *Chesterfield*, in Derbyshire, took with him to England a Negroe man slave, of the *Ebo* country, whose name was Tom Alligie. He was a great favourite with the family, had been baptis'd, and lived with him as an house servant. After remaining some time in England, finding his master had no intention to return, he told him he was sure he could be more useful to him at his plantation in Jamaica than in England, and begged to be sent back. Mr. Jebb, not willing to part with him, evaded complying with his request under different pretences. The man, having taken his resolution, soon after absconded; and Mr. Jebb heard nothing of him for some months. He, at length, received information from his attorneys in Jamaica, that the man was safely arriv'd there, and had deliver'd himself up to
“ them.

“ them. The account he gave of himself was,
 “ that he went from *Chesterfield* to *Hull*, where,
 “ finding no ship bound for Jamaica, he went
 “ on board one bound to America. He worked
 “ his passage there, and from thence worked his
 “ passage in a vessel bound to Jamaica. He was
 “ under the care of Messrs. Hibberts of King-
 “ ston, for many years afterwards, until his
 “ death; during all which time he proved a
 “ steady faithful servant, without manifesting
 “ the slightest symptoms of a dissipated or ram-
 “ bling disposition.” Numberless are the in-
 stances which could be produced, of Negroes
 wishing to be sent back or return with their ma-
 sters or mistresses to the colonies *from England*;
 but this particular one is selected, because it
 must be manifest to every one, that, if this man
 had preferred his *native plains* to Jamaica, the
 same exertions he used at *Hull* would have en-
 abled him to enter on board a ship at *Liverpool*,
 bound to *Bonny*, and, instead of working his pas-
 sage, have got very considerable wages; a per-
 son who can talk the language of the country,
 and explain to the Negroe slaves taken on board
 their destination, and the nature of the service
 they are intended to be employed in, being parti-
 cularly useful in encouraging and quieting the
 minds of those, who, from the custom among
 themselves (not yet entirely abolished in the in-

terior parts of the country), may entertain some apprehensions of being sacrificed and eaten by the whites, in the country to which they are conveyed. It is owing to the number of free Negroes, who act as interpreters upon the coast, and who are used to come over in the slave ships, and return to Africa, and who explain, both to the slaves in the ships, and to their countrymen on their return, the manner in which slaves live and are treated in the colonies, that those notions are now pretty generally exploded among them, and that the mutinies of the slaves on board are so much seldomer heard of than formerly.

LETTER IX.

December 3.

DEAR SIR,

I DO not recollect that I have replied hitherto to two or three particulars in Mr. Clarkson's charges against the planters for cruelty—the *horrid extremity of labour* he would have it believed they are obliged to undergo in *picking grass*, the whipping them to death for *eating canes*, and the setting watchmen to guard the provision grounds, with authority to *punish* those who attempt to steal such provisions *with a cutlass*. I shall be very concise in my answers.

With respect to the *first*, so far is the grass from being “only to be found and picked *blade by blade*,” that one third of the labour of the Negroes, for great part of the year, is, weeding the canes, and keeping them free from grass: that, during crop, the stock and cattle are fed with the tops of the canes, and the tops of corn; and in most of the islands *Guinea grass*, and another sort called *Scotch grass*, are planted for the stock, and a mule or two, and proper attendants employed in bringing a sufficiency to the *pens* and stables for their support.

P 2

Secondly.

Secondly. So far are the Negroes from being prevented eating canes in crop time, when they are ripe, that every person who has travelled the roads in the West Indies sees them strewed with the fragments of the canes which are rejected, after the Negroes have sucked the juice from them, and that, when Negroes are detected in breaking canes *before they are ripe*, they are generally sent to the persons to whom they belong to be punished. The same happens when they are caught by the watchman stealing provisions; for the planters are obliged to have watchmen both for their canes and their provisions, and also for the Negroes own provisions; otherwise the depredations which would be committed on them would be excessive—not by Negroes who might steal to satisfy their appetite, but to carry these provisions to market, and sell them. It sometimes happens, these thieves assault and wound the watchmen; but in no case is the watchman allowed to punish the Negroe he *takes prisoner* in any act of delinquency. In case of resistance, it may happen he may wound the thief, especially in the night-time. Does not the same thing happen in England? And is the giving a cut-lafs to the Negroe, wherewith to guard his master's canes, or the provisions necessary for the support of the lives of his master's slaves, more to be reprobated, than a man's guarding his turn-
nip-

nip-field, or his orchard, in England, with guns loaded with pease, or small shot, which is sometimes done; or setting *man-traps* and *spring-guns* to guard a few cabbages, or cherries, in a garden?

Two other remarks of Mr. Clarkson, ought not to be passed over in silence: "That no person can deny the frequent acts of *suicide* among the Negroes*;" and that, "when they die a natural death, they die with smiles on their faces." We dare deny both; and, on the contrary assert, that acts of suicide are much less frequent than in England, and very seldom committed by Negroes, who have been resident even a few weeks in the *West Indies*; and that when they die, they die just as white people do, without a single additional smile on their faces, but in the same kind of agonies which are generally consequent on the separation of soul and body. That their funerals are attended with music and dancing, and other marks of festivity, we allow; but, surely, Mr. Clarkson forgets, that among the Negroes such meetings are asserted by him, *not* to be "demonstrations of joy," but marks of "*an uncommon depression of spirits.*" Here, however, it better *suits his purpose*, that the funeral obsequies of the Negro should be celebrated "with every possible demonstration of
"joy."

* Essay, p. 233.

“ joy.” It gives Mr. Clarkson an opportunity of asking, “ Why this *unusual* mirth ?” And of replying to his own question, with an “ Alas !! “ it arises from reflecting,” (I presume he means the survivors reflecting*,) “ *that HE is gone to his happy country!* An opinion the Africans universally entertain†.” That it has been said, the Africans do entertain such a notion, may be true, but from what authority I know not. There is no doubt they believe in another life after this; and no person, in any degree conversant with them, can have the least reason to suppose, that any of them were so brutally stupid, as to entertain the idea Mr. Clarkson declares to be universal. The whole of their customs shew the contrary†. When they bury their dead, in their own country; when they sacrifice wives and slaves, at their funerals, to *wait upon them* in the other world, what country have they an idea their deceased prince, or friend, is gone to? If they held such an opinion when they first arrived in the colonies, will any person think it probable that those who have lived any time there, should

continue

* Essay, p. 235.

† Ib. p. 233.

‡ Vide p. 156. What is there said, is surely sufficient proof of their believing in a future state; and also that the spirit, or soul, of their friend, does not return to the land of the deceased person's nativity, but continues in the vicinity of the place where the body is inhumed.

continue to maintain the same idea? The supposition is too absurd to render a refutation of it necessary.

Equally ridiculous is it to imagine, because the funeral ceremonies of the Negroes are attended with music and dancing, that those who have lost a consort, a parent, or a child, do not grieve for such a misfortune. Would not a man of letters, upon hearing of such a funeral ceremony, rather suppose it arose from some superstitious consideration, the cause or origin of which he was unable to explain, or account for? He would, perhaps, quote *Homer* and *Thucydides*, to shew that the Trojans, Greeks, and other nations of antiquity, had similar ceremonies. He would recollect what is said of the magnificent games with which *Achilles* celebrated the funeral obsequies of *Patroclus*; *Alexander*, of *Hephæstion*; and gravely tell us, that notwithstanding the mirth and festivity which accompanied their rites, *Achilles* and *Alexander* felt the most poignant sorrow for the loss of their respective favourites.

Notwithstanding Mr. Clarkson would have us believe, that the Negroes rejoice when any of their friends or countrymen die, every man, conversant with the colonies, knows, and every man of common sense, who has the least knowledge of human nature, will believe, that the ties of natural affection are as strong amongst the Ne-

groes, as among other people of the inferior class elsewhere; indeed, they may be supposed stronger than among those who, when their children die, may with justice reflect, in alleviation of their grief, that they were not able to maintain them in any comfortable manner. In proof that, in the colonies, Negroes, like other people, are affected with the loss of their friends, I can assure Mr. Clarkson, that the husbands, wives, parents, and friends, of a deceased Negro, shew as evident marks of unfeigned sorrow as are to be met with among the people of Europe. They do not indeed, in general, wear black cloaths upon the occasion; but the women, in particular, testify their sorrow by the manner of tying the handkerchiefs with which their heads are bound. But is it not extraordinary that Mr. Clarkson should make such an observation, when one of the very authors he quotes, (Mr. Adanson) from whom great part of his information of the nature of the country is derived, though not of the trade, expressly tells us, that they make the same rejoicings at funerals*, in their *native plains*,

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* " Notwithstanding the violence of this exercise, [dancing] it lasted a good part of the night.—They began the same scene the two nights following, and the third their entertainments ceased. " An *European*, on such an occasion, would have gone into mourning " for some months, while the *African* seizes this opportunity to " rejoice." (Adanson, p. 113.)

as they do in the colonies? What is the inducement *there*? Is it because the deceased has *quitted his happy country*? For the description of which I beg to refer the reader to page 42, and the following pages, of that author.

To give the reader some idea of it, I will just mention, that he describes the soil to be a deep burning sand. *Reaumur's* thermometer stood at 60, when the bulb was sunk in it. " That the public
" road was shocking; the path (so called) over-
" run with thorns; they were obliged to creep
" through them, the thorns piercing the Negroes
" feet; that his own feet sunk in the sand, over
" the shoes, which were filled with it, and that
" in so hot a state as to blister his feet; that his
" shoes were so scorched they grew tough, like
" a horn, cracked, and fell away to powder.
" The cottages of these *miserable people* were
" only five or six feet high, ten feet in diameter,
" made of hurdles, plastered with cow dung,
" which stunk intolerably. The children were,
" at the age of puberty, running about naked;
" and the heat so extreme, that *Reaumur's* ther-
" mometer, in the shade, stood at forty to forty-
" five degrees." Doctor *Lind* too, in his Essay on
the Diseases of Hot Countries, Part I. p. 64,
gives the following extract of the journal of a
ship, which sailed up one of the rivers of that
country: " We were thirty miles distant from

“ the sea, in a country altogether uncultivated,
 “ overflowed with water, surrounded with thick,
 “ impenetrable woods, and overrun with slime.
 “ The air was so vitiated, noisome, and thick,
 “ that our torches and candles burnt dim, and
 “ seemed ready to be extinguished, and even the
 “ human voice lost its natural tone.”—*Happy country!*

I shall not enter into any dispute with Mr. Clarkson, respecting the *physical* reason, why the Negroes are *black*, and have curled wool on their heads, instead of hair? But, notwithstanding his assertion, he will never convince people in the *West Indies*, that Negro children are born *white*; they are certainly nearer approaching to white than would be supposed probable; which complexion, however, soon grows more obscure, even without the aid of sunshine, or of smog, though not sooner in the tropical, than in colder countries. That the offspring of the first Portuguese, by black women, and their continuing from father to son, to mix with the black inhabitants of the country, have, for many generations past, become undistinguishable from the Negroes, there can be no doubt; for they are Negroes in every sense. But that *white* people will ever become *black*, by living within the torrid zone, or their offspring deviate from the
 complexion

complexion of their forefathers, there is not the slightest ground to imagine.

Many young ladies, descendants of some of the first settlers in the islands, and now in England for their education, are of as fair and delicate complexions as any women in Europe. Nay, according to Mr. Clarkson's observation from *Herodotus*, the Negroes settled in *Colchis*, were black, and had crisped hair, in his time. *Sesostris* is supposed to have been nearly cotemporary with *Moses*; and therefore, it appears, they did not change their complexion by living in a cold country, for the space of 1250 years, for so long a time there was between *Sesostris* and *Herodotus**. If, during so considerable a period, no change had been wrought, we imagine Mr. Clarkson must find some other cause for the change of complexion, "from that of the Negro to the fair *Circassian*†!"

Besides the sins committed by the West India planters, Mr. Clarkson charges them with those of omission; and, in the same politeness of style in which that gentleman always thinks it becomes him to address them, he supposes them to
allege,

* *Sesostris* is said to have been the successor of *Amenophis*, and to have lived 1722 years before *Christ*. The latter in the 86th Olympiad, or about 460 years before the Christian era,

† Essay, p. 209.

allege, that the African Negroes are barbarous in their own country ; and then he triumphantly demands ; “ But do *you receivers* civilize them* ? “ —Your unwillingness to convert them to “ Christianity, because you suppose you must “ use them more kindly when converted, is but “ a bad argument in favour of the fact.” In plain English, Mr. Clarkson means to assert, that the planters do not civilize their Negroes, and are unwilling to convert them to Christianity ; and he alleges, as a reason of such reluctance, their fears of being, in such case, *obliged* to treat them more kindly.

Whether the Negroes are not in as high a state of civilization as the generality of the labouring poor in Europe, and much more so than the colliers, in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and the miners, in Cornwall, Wales, &c. let the people of England judge for themselves, who have, within these few years, seen so many thousands of them in the metropolis, and its vicinity ?

With respect to the planter’s *unwillingness* to convert their Negroes to Christianity, let the laws of the several islands be appealed to, which speak the collective sense of the inhabitants upon that occasion. The following are the words of the 45th Clause of an Act of Assembly of *Jamaica*,
passed

* Essay, p. 230.

passed so long since as the year 1696, entitled, *An Act for the better Order and Government of Slaves*. “ And be it enacted, by the authority
 “ aforesaid, that all masters and mistresses, owners,
 “ or, in their absence, overseers of Slaves, shall,
 “ as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruc-
 “ tion of their slaves in the principles of the
 “ Christian religion, and shall do their endea-
 “ vours to fit them for baptism; and, as soon as
 “ they conveniently can, shall cause to be bap-
 “ tized all such as they can make sensible of a
 “ Deity, and the Christian faith.” Surely this
 does not look like an unwillingness, on the part
 of the planters, to favour the conversion of their
 slaves. But if, as we are informed by one* of
 the present advocates for the conversion of the
 Negroes, any clergyman, in the colonies, should
 so far make a mockery of the sacrament of bap-
 tism, as to administer it to ignorant and un-
 instructed Negroes, in order that, when they die,
 he may claim the fees due on their burial, is it
 to be wondered the laity should be only luke-
 warm, in paying obedience to such a law as we
 have quoted?

Besides passing the law above-mentioned, the
 people, in all the islands, have taken care to
 make ample provision for a sufficient number of
 clergymen,

* Vide *Ramsay's Essay*.

clergymen, whose pious labours, *if zealously and duly exerted*, must have had the desired effect. The several parishes, in Jamaica, pay such ample stipends to the incumbents on them, that no clergyman, who does the common parochial duty, will find his living worth less than 150l. sterling a year, besides a house to live in; and some are worth 500l. and two or three of them are even worth from 1000l. to 1400l. sterling *per ann.* Yet not all the ministers, reside in their parishes, some of which are daily increasing in value, as well from the improvement of the glebe, as from the additional number of inhabitants. To sum up the account in a few words, the livings, in the island of *Jamaica*, are worth (one with another) 400l. sterling *per ann.* Where such liberal provision is made for the ministers of the gospel, it seems equally unjust and ungrateful, in a *clergyman*, to charge those who have made such provision, with having no regard to religion, which certainly must be the case of those who are *unwilling* their slaves should be converted; and if Mr. Clarkson's reason for such reluctance be true, the labours of the minister ought first to be directed to the conversion of the master, who, if he be truly a Christian, would equally treat the slave with kindness and benevolence, whether such slave be converted or not.

I, how-

I, however, deny the fact, and call upon Mr. Clarkson to point out the clergyman, who, having zeal and piety sufficient to induce him to attempt the conversion of any gentleman's slaves, in the manner the pious *Moravian* clergymen do, who has been prevented by the owner; or the clergyman who, having any slaves of his own, has succeeded in his endeavours, if he made use of any, to convert them. The fact certainly is, the little regard paid to religion, in the colonies, (for much too little there certainly is,) may be fairly imputed to the immorality and impiety, and to the scandalous conduct of many of those persons, who, (unhappily for the colonies) have been intrusted with the cure of souls in those parts of his Majesty's dominions. It would be as shocking to persons of piety, as unpleasant to the gentlemen in the West-Indies, and to myself, to be obliged to enumerate the many unworthy characters who have been presented to livings in the sugar colonies. I have heard of one who had been boatswain of a man of war; drunkards, swindlers, and profane swearers; persons publicly living in adultery, and keeping Mulatto women, will be found among the number. One man, however, I cannot omit describing, who, it is commonly said, was once blackened over, and sold as a Negro, in *Jamaica*, and who, at another time, sold his companion,

companion, previously coloured, to make him pass for a Mulatto, to *Colonel Bird*, in *Virginia*; and who was formerly a candle-snuffer to a company of strolling players, in the very island where he has since been presented to a good living! I shall only add, that *simony* is an avowed practice, and the giving a sum of money to one person, to resign his living, by the man who has interest enough to obtain the presentation in his stead, is notorious; and the sum paid is as commonly known, and talked of, as the money paid for the price of an estate. When there are such labourers in the vineyard, is it wonderful the vintage should be unprofitable! v

Tired with writing, I must now quit my pen, assuring you,

I am,

DEAR SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER

LETTER X.

December 20th, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

A GREEABLE to what I said in my last, I continue my observations on Mr. Clarkson's *Essay*, who puts many arguments into the mouths of the persons he calls *Receivers*, to justify their conduct, and then has the pleasure to confute them. We do not adopt the arguments he uses for us. If we should approve of any of them, we beg to urge them in *our own* words. Amongst others, he charges the planters with asserting the unhappiness of the Negroes in their own country. It is insisted, on the contrary, that the planters do not pretend to know any thing of the matter. They know not the parts of Africa the generality of them come from; and it is apparent, from the writers on the subject, that the white people are not admitted to the interior parts of Africa.

But Mr. Clarkson's reason for making the planter assert the unhappiness of the Negroe in his own country, is, that he may quote a passage which would otherwise not have been so applicable, from a sermon of the *Bishop of Gloucester*, preached before the Society for propagating the

Q

Gospel

Gospel in Foreign Parts, on the 21st February 1766. However that prelate had been deceived, with respect to the situation or the treatment of **Negroes**, the censure which Mr. Clarkson has been pleased to apply to the planters may render a slight notice of him in some degree necessary. I know not any properer mode of doing it, than by taking the liberty to address him, as near as may be, in the very words of the sermon.—“ But
 “ who are you, Sir, who pretend to judge of
 “ another man’s happiness—that state which
 “ each man, under the guidance of his maker,
 “ (is placed in, or) forms for himself, and not
 “ one man for another? To know what consti-
 “ tutes mine or your happiness is the sole prero-
 “ gative of him who created us, and cast us in
 “ so various and different moulds. Did *our*
 “ slaves ever complain to you of their unhappi-
 “ ness,” amidst their labours upon our planta-
 “ tions? “ Or rather let me ask you, Did they
 “ ever cease complaining of their condition,”
 “ when, *blessed with freedom*, they were starving with
 “ cold and hunger in the streets of the metropolis;
 “ where they might see, indeed, the accommo-
 “ dations of civil life, but must see them all
 “ pass to others, themselves unbenefitted by
 “ them?” Be so gracious then, ye patrons of
 “ freedom and humanity, or such of you as pre-
 “ tend or wish to be thought such, “ to let our
 “ slaves

“ slaves judge for themselves what it is which
 “ makes their own happiness,” which it is our
 interest to promote ; and learn, from the fate of
 those unhappy wretches, which your clamours
 have induced government to send back to their
 own *happy country*, how very much mistaken you
 have been, in your endeavours to meliorate the
 lot of those whom, in fact, you overwhelmed
 with misery and distress, by advising them to
 consider themselves *free in Great Britain*.

The *experiment* above alluded to ought to sa-
 tisfy the gentlemen in that country, that, how-
 ever praise-worthy their endeavours to increase
 the happiness of the Negroes in the colonies
 may be, a total want of knowledge of their
 character and manners, renders them incompe-
 tent to frame such laws and regulations, even
 with regard to their nourishment and labour, as
 would operate to their real benefit and comfort
 in the *West Indies*. The difficulty of making laws
 for regulating the conduct, and providing for
 the support and happiness of the poor, must be
 obvious to every man in *Great Britain*, who re-
 flects, that, although the attention of the Legis-
 lature, as well as of particular persons, has been
 applied with the utmost solicitude to this object
 for centuries past, and although they have been
 constantly employed in providing for the distress-
 ed, and obliging those, who are capable of la-

bour, to contribute, by that means, to the national benefit, and to merit that protection and support, in case of future disease or infirmity, which humanity should oblige the opulent to bestow on the indigent; yet, notwithstanding the labour and attention of private persons, and the numerous acts of parliament made for these salutary purposes, which are repeated year after year; notwithstanding the sums of money raised for the support of the poor, which have been constantly augmenting, until they swell to an amount, and which, added to the income of the several charitable establishments, and the additional private contributions of the benevolent and charitable, will be found more than equal to the annual interest of half the present very heavy national debt; neither these immense sums, nor the laws made to compel all the poor, who are in health, to labour, thereby to preserve them from that extreme poverty and distress, which are the offspring of idleness, and in which Mr. Clarkson makes the felicity of the Negroes in their own *happy plains* to consist; not all these provisions have made the poor, in England, more content or happy, than they were prior to the reign of *Elizabeth*; at least, if we may judge from the silence of the historians of those times, as to the unhappiness of the poor, and the incessant complaints of the present and late writers upon that subject. The greater part
of

of these poor people are not more civilized than the generality of the Negroes in the West Indies, and certainly not more so than those Negroes born in the colonies : and if they are better instructed in religion, we believe it is not owing to the masters by whom they are employed ; neither are these people, though *free*, more permitted “ *to form their state according to their own ideas of happiness,*” than the Negroes themselves, who are slaves. They are compelled to work by severe punishments ; by stripes, by imprisonment : nor are they more goaded on to labour, by the fear of those stripes, and by that imprisonment, than by hunger, cold, and nakedness. They must work, or starve ; unless they rather chuse to steal, which very many do : witness the horrid public executions, and the numbers transported every year, for that crime ! Are these people entitled to boast of their liberty ? And will that empty name either feed or clothe them in health, or administer medicine, or comfort, to them when sick ? It might increase the misery of a poor Englishman, if, in addition to what he suffers, he did not consider himself *free*. But a Negro, who never had an idea of such a state of freedom, may surely be as happy as any other poor man. He lives in the full enjoyment of his house, his family, his live stock, and his cultivated spot of ground, in safety ; and in a climate congenial to that under

which he was born. His severest task is not equal to the daily labour of an husbandman in England. He has a sufficiency of clothing allowed him by his master; and if he had none, would scarcely suffer from the want of it, never having been accustomed to it in his own country. At any rate, he never would experience that extremity of cold which the rags of the poor but ill defend them from; and by which many of the peasants in the northern parts of Europe, suffer more pain and misery, than the Negroes experience under the severest masters. For, that severities, very undue severities, and even cruelties, have been sometimes exercised by masters, and oftener still by those in authority under them, in the West Indies, we must own and lament. Laws are daily made to restrain and to punish such undue and improper exercises of power; and it is to be hoped, such laws will, with the improving manners of the inhabitants of the colonies, which, like those of the people of Europe, are daily softening and growing milder, have the wished-for good effect of establishing universal humanity there.

Altho' it is conceived, the people in *Great Britain* do not possess sufficient knowledge of the local and relative situations of the masters, and their slaves, in the colonies, to enable them to frame laws for the government of such slaves; and

and, although it is very difficult, even for parliament, to learn, with precision, the manner in which any particular trade or commerce is conducted, yet as there can be no doubt that, altho' instances may be given, where particular commanders of ships have treated both the mariners and the slaves improperly, and, from the difficulty of procuring evidence of such misbehaviour, the laws in being may not be sufficient to punish them as they merit, yet no reasonable men will suppose such conduct is frequent. Epidemical disorders, such as the small-pox, measles, dysenteries, or other putrid diseases, may happen in some ships, or to the slaves in the country, particularly when they are sold in consequence of a famine; but, from the care which is taken of them by all humane and prudent commanders, there is no doubt but such accidents are guarded against as much as possible. The knowledge lately acquired of keeping the crews of ships in health in long voyages, give strong ground to hope that similar methods may have the like beneficial consequences, if used by the captains or masters of ships employed in transporting Negroes from Africa. No person, who reads the account of the miserable situation of the crews of the *Centurion*, and the other ships, which were under lord Anson's command forty years ago, would have imagined

it possible that such voyages as those which have been lately made by captain Cook, and others, could have been completed with scarcely the loss of an individual. It surely will give as much satisfaction to the man of humanity in the West Indies, (and even to those planters, if there are any such, as Mr. Clarkson supposes, who do not possess any), as to the man of humanity in Europe, if the regulations, to which the parliament have lately subjected the ships in the African trade, should be attended with the good effects expected from them. But I hope to be pardoned, if I take the liberty of suggesting to those, whose situations may entitle them to urge their opinion in either house of parliament upon the subject, when it shall again be taken into consideration, that there is a very great difference in the length of the voyages from different parts of the coast. Those ships which come from the bottom of the *Bite of Benin*, are often double the time in getting to *St. Thomas*, or *Prince's Island*, where they refresh their crew, and Negroes, than those from *Gambia*, and other parts to windward, are, in making their voyage to *Barbadoes*. Surely, the number of slaves on board a vessel, ought to be more in proportion to the tonnage, where the voyage will, in all probability, be very short, than where the contrary must be naturally expected.

I beg

I beg leave also to observe, that any attempt to oblige the vessels on the coast, to bring no Negroes but those who are young, or as many females as males, will be absurd and nugatory*. The dreadful consequence of refusing to buy those advanced in years, if offered for sale, has already been pointed out. It has been proved, that the slaves purchased on the coast, are brought, for the most part, from countries far inland. The purchaser, therefore, can only buy what the market affords. The only consequence of such restriction will be, that the merchant must sell his males to the *foreign* vessels on the coast, or to the English ones, which are now admitted into the port of *Trinidad*, or some of the *foreign* ports in the West Indies; the good policy of which mode of suffering the merchants of Great Britain to supply foreigners with Negroes, may be much doubted, particularly when the British colonies are in great want of them.

It is scarcely necessary to reply to the calculation Mr. Clarkson has made of the vast increase which may be expected from 10,000 people, within a century, in a soil congenial to their constitution,

* The great number of wives which persons among them keep, who can afford it, (Smith says,) and some even 1,000, will account, in some degree, for their disproportion. They sell, it seems, their children, but seldom any of their wives.
and

and where the means of subsistence are easy. If 160,000 should be the number of their offspring living at the end of that term, what ought to be the number of the inhabitants of England at present? Whereas it appears problematical to the persons versed in political arithmetic, whether they are at all increased for several centuries last past; and yet that kingdom has suffered by none of those dreadful earthquakes, hurricanes, and violent storms, which Mr. Clarkson is pleased to declare, are so many awful visitations of God, on the subjects of *Britain*, for the violation of his laws; by inhumanly keeping the Negroes in slavery! Nay, he dares go farther; and as he charges the subjects of *Great Britain* with having two thirds of this *impious* commerce in their hands, he deals out to them a proportional part of the vengeance of the offended Deity. To what will he venture to attribute the late calamity which the people in the neighbourhood of Paris have experienced? Perhaps to their very successful endeavours to deprive Great Britain of a great part of their commerce. Who is he that has thus presumed to declare the councils of the Most High? May we not say to him, "Hast *thou* heard the secret of God? And dost *thou* restrain wisdom to thyself?"

LETTER

LETTER XI.

Jamaica, January, 4, 1789.

DEAR SIR.

I HAVE now finished my task of following Mr. Clarkson through his accusations, as well, against the Merchant as the Planter. I have, however still to observe, that if Mr. Clarkson thinks he is authorised by any thing said by *Sir, Hans Sloane, Mr. Hugbes, or Mr. Benezet*, to calumniate the Planters, he is very reprehensible. It is well known, that, exclusive of the objections to be made against part of *Sir Hans Sloane's* accounts, which shew that his credulity misled him into absurdities, the English inhabitants of the West India Islands, were, in his time, men of a fierce and military character; most of whom had been partisans, either on one side, or the other, in the civil war, which had raged so dreadfully in the mother country; intermixed with these, were the *Bucaniers*, whose employment was, that of plunder and rapine, and whose spoils were, generally dissipated in riot and debauchery. Some few of this latter class applied to agriculture in the English colonies; but they were only a few, for the larger body of them retreated to the north-east part of Hispaniola. Yet, all these emigrants
from

from England, of whatever description, who became Planters, agreed in one point; they learned from the Dutch then settled in South America, and who monopolized the trade of our islands, the arts of planting, and of manufacturing the sugar cane, as well as the management and treatment of their slaves, which, conformably to the temper and habits of their instructors, and to the extreme savage state in which the Africans *then* were, produced those severities, and a rigour of discipline on their plantations, nearly bordering upon that cruelty, which we of the present age, with justice, condemn, nor is now necessary, (if ever it was necessary,) to be exercised upon the Negroes.

Their more immediate descendants, we may imagine, were not in general educated in such manner as to make them look with abhorrence on the actions of their parents; but, the rising generation of West Indians, nursed in the bosom of peace, not untinctured with liberal science, of minds more enlarged, and manners more refined, employed in enriching the mother country, by the arts of improved agriculture and commerce, must surely be persons of much milder dispositions, and more humane sentiments. This change of manners among the white inhabitants of the West Indies, is to the full as conspicuous as among the inhabitants of any part of Europe.

or if it is not, it must be owing to the improper education which their youth receive in England, from whose schools and universities they draw their instruction. The manners of the masters always have an effect on their dependants. If those of the white inhabitants in the colonies are softened, those of the slaves are in proportion not less so. In consequence of which, the laws are daily less and less rigid. The fear of insurrections among the Negroes, which the more ancient inhabitants cannot help retaining, from a recollection of their former frequency, and the horrid consequences of them, are considered, by the younger people, as hardly probable to happen in future. They look upon the increased number of white inhabitants, the number of Creole slaves, and of free Negroes and Mulattoes, and the relaxation of that severity formerly thought necessary to be exercised on the Negroes, as so many additional reasons of their present and future security. While the greater degree of attention paid to the health, the welfare, and the happiness of their slaves, which the increased value they are of, as well as the superior degree of humanity the masters and overseers possess, conspire to render their Negroes more easy, content, and satisfied in their situation; and induces me to compare their lot with that of the poorer peasants in Europe.

I cannot

I cannot help remarking, in proof of the wealth and happiness of the Negroes in this country, that, at this season of the year, and particularly on the first of this month, I saw great numbers pass my window dressed in a stile of expence which the generality of people in England will scarcely believe, attended with music. A *set* of them (for by that appellation they distinguish themselves) were in the house while I was writing one of my former letters. They consisted of about thirty young women, with white beaver hats, ornamented with blue ribbands, and brown and white, and black ostrich feathers. They wore short gowns, of fine printed callico, of the same pattern, and were attended by fiddles and a tabor and pipe; some of them were acquainted with the housekeeper, and, upon the strength of that, familiarly entered the hall, and danced for half an hour, were regaled with cake, wine, &c. and then pursued their diversion; many such sets, some of them still better dressed, were at the same time parading in different parts of the town: I am convinced there were some scores, whose cloathes and ornaments, upon this occasion, did not cost less than from ten to fifteen guineas.

I know the risque I run of displeasing numbers of people in Great Britain, by daring even to hint, that any man in that country is not a free-man. But as I conceive my positions are founded
on

on the firm and solid basis of truth, I doubt not, where the resentment and prejudice of the moment have passed over, the justice of them will have their due weight, and meet with the assent of the candid and dispassionate.

It is allowed the Planters are not the original *men stealers*; but the *brutal receivers*. Now, though, from respect to the feelings of our fellow subjects in Great Britain, I have foreborn to deny the assertion of Mr. Clarkson, that no man *there can be sold like a beast*; (a very figurative, pretty expression; as if a beast was sold in a different manner from any thing else :) I may perhaps be forgiven, if I attempt to shew, that men *are said to be sold* in other parts of Europe. We have heard it asserted that some parts of *Germany* are *markets* for the sale and disposal of the human species, and that some of the princes of the empire do actually sell their subjects.

By the last treaty made between Great Britain and the prince of *Hesse Cassel*, the price, or, if it will be more respectful, the hire of an *Hessian* foldier, arms, accoutrements and all, is fixed at 39 crowns *banco*; which, at 4s. 9d. $\frac{3}{4}$ the crown, amounts to 8l. 18s. per head. If this can be called a sale of them, whether a *Hessian* is sold, like a beast, or like a man, is a matter not worth dispute! but in such case, the *purchasers* are the *receivers* of them. Will any person venture to
call

call the people of Great Britain brutal, impious, and execrable men, for having made such a treaty? These are terms of reproach that hare-brained levellers, or specious hypocrites, ought alone to be tolerated in the use of; whatever such people may say, those who reason, will see the propriety of making such engagements, or *bargains*, however much they may lament the necessity which occasions them, and which arises from the nature and condition of man, of which it is affirmed that slavery, variously modified, is an essential constituent part throughout the world. All that can be done, by the wisest and best of men, is, to render it as easy as possible. It may, in time, become as light in the colonies, as in any part of Europe, if it even should be otherwise at present.

There are supposed to be now in *Jamaica* ten thousand free Negroes; most of them have a decent means of subsistence; from the obligation the law lays on every man, to make a provision for every slave he emancipates; none of these hire themselves out to work in the field; they are in general tradesmen; such as carpenters, smiths, masons, tailors, &c. or hire themselves to wait upon gentlemen as servants. It is probable, the offspring of these people, if they multiply considerably, will be obliged to apply themselves to agriculture, for want of sufficient employment. The greater number of slaves imported, the more frequent

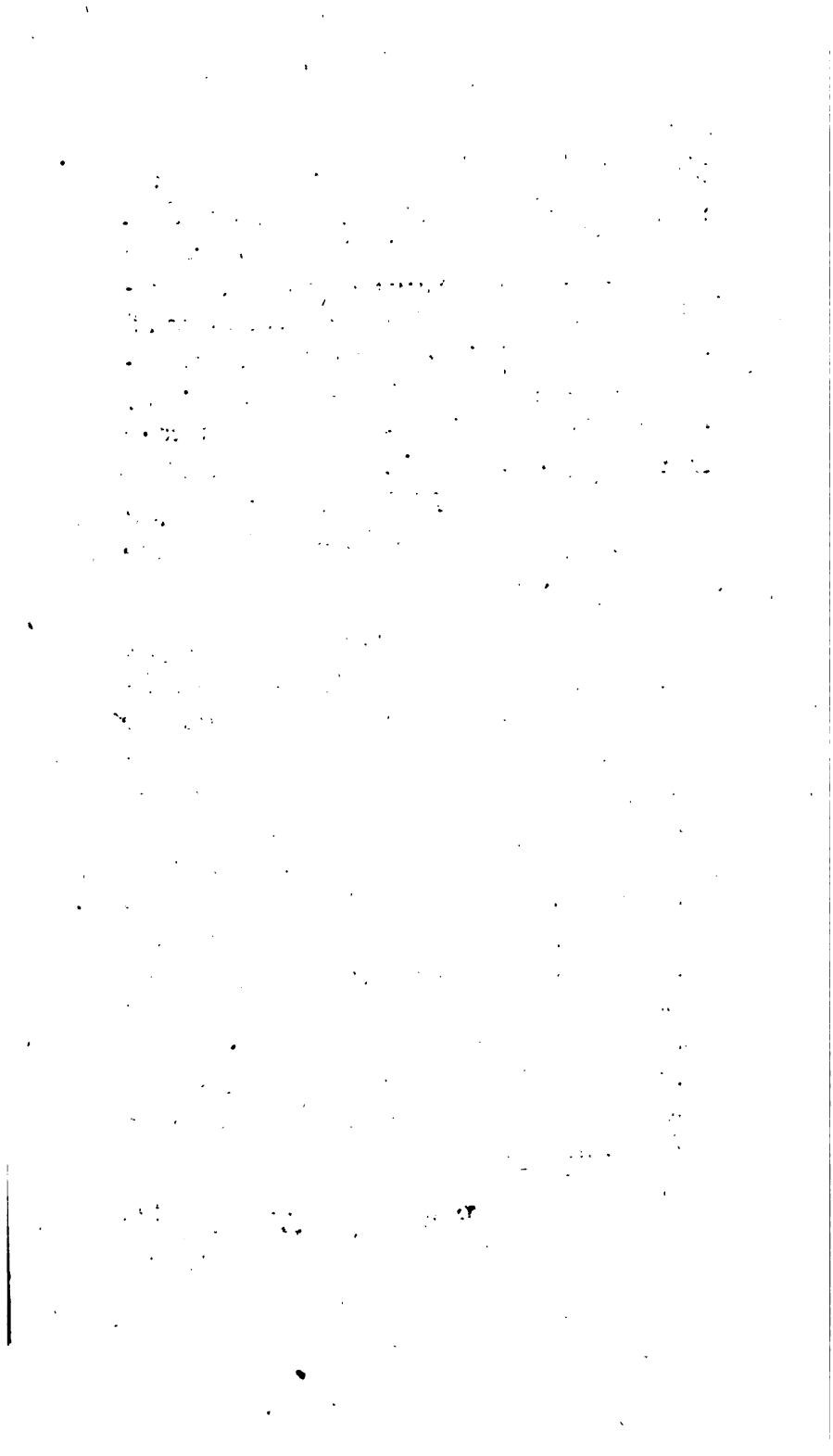
frequent and numerous will future emancipations become; until perhaps the numbers of free Negroes may become so considerable, that the Planter may be able to hire them at a reasonable rate, to do the work of his estate; in which case you may rest satisfied that the emancipation of the Negroes will become general. For, whatever gentlemen in England may think, there is nothing more certain than that if free labourers could be hired in the colonies, at the same rate they are to be engaged in the *dearest* county in England, the Planter would, with the utmost pleasure, give freedom to *all* his Negroes, and be equally happy, and benefited by the change of their condition. Any endeavours to anticipate such an event, by stopping or restraining the commerce of slaves on the coast of *Africa*, must have a direct contrary tendency. The attempt to regulate it, may even be attended with bad consequences; as it is seldom parliament is able to obtain such accounts of foreign commercial matters, as to enable it to judge with precision; the persons from whom the information is received, being, in general, either prejudiced, or interested. Every man, however, connected with the colonies, will be pleased, if the regulations made, or intended to be made, shall answer the good purposes designed by them; and every good man will rejoice, if the laws, at present existing in any of the colonies, are not suffi-

cient to restrain, or punish those who oppress, or treat Negroes with cruelty, shall be to have them amended, or new ones enacted in their stead; but the freeing the Negroes from their present state of slavery, or the stopping future importations of them, would be equally unjust and impolitic; unjust, because the nation has invited the colonists to purchase them by repeated acts of legislation; impolitic, as it would enable the other nations in Europe, who would continue the commerce unrivalled, to augment the cultivation of their colonies, to the ruin and destruction of those of Great Britain.

There can be the less reason for any such step, if, as I hope it has been clearly shewn, that slavery or servitude, in some degree, exists in every part of the world, and that the poor people of every denomination, and every where, are truly and essentially those who bear, and ever must bear, burdens heavier or lighter, according as circumstances may occur. That the most benevolent intentions of the humane and charitable, though they may alleviate and lighten these burthens, cannot take them entirely away; which is an absolute proof, that this difference of condition is every where the lot of human nature, and consequently conformable to the will of God. If the abridgment of natural liberty, which all men in society must experience, in some degree, or any state of

it, be called *slavery*, or by any other name or denomination, the nature of it will be the same; and we may say with *Macrobius*, "*Quid ita nomen servitutis horremus? Servus est quidem, sed necessitate, sed fortasse libero animo est. Hoc illi nocebit, si ostenderis, quis non sit. Alius libidini servit; alius avaritiæ; alius ambitioni; omnes spei; omnes timori; et certe, nulla servitus turpior quam voluntaria.*"

Macrobi. Sat. c. 11. p. 234.



A P P E N D I X.

A R R E T DU CONSEIL D'ETAT DU ROI,

Qui proroge jusqu'au 1.^{er} Août 1789, la permission accordée par l'arrêt du 28 juin 1783, d'introduire aux isles du Vent, dans les Ports d'entrepôt, les Noirs de Traite étrangère, avec une diminution de droits à l'entrée : Qui permet pendant le même temps, l'exportation du Sucre brut de l'isle de Sainte-Lucie à l'Etranger, en acquittant les droits du Domaine d'Occident ; Et qui porte à Deux cents livres par tête la Prime accordée par l'arrêt du Conseil du 26 Octobre 1784, aux Négocians François, sur les Noirs de Traite Francoise, qui seront introduits dans le port des Cayes St.-Louis à Saint Domingue, pour l'approvisionnement de la partie du Sud de ladite Isle, en observant les formalités prescrites.

Du 10 Septembre 1786.

Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat.

LE ROI s'étant fait représenter l'arrêt rendu en son Conseil le 28 Juin 1783, par lequel Sa Majesté a permis aux Bâtimens étrangers du port de cent vingt tonneaux & au-dessus, arrivant directement des côtes d'Afrique, chacun avec une cargaison de cent quatre-vingts Noirs au moins, d'aborder dans le port principal des îles de la Martinique, de la Guadeloupe, de Sainte-Lucie & de Tabago, jusqu'au 1.^{er} Août 1786, & d'y vendre lesdits Noirs, en payant par chaque tête de Nègres, Nègresses, Négrillons & Négrittes, un droit de Cent livres, argent de France, dont le produit seroit employé en Primes, au profit des Armateurs françois qui importeroient, pendant le même temps dans lesdites îles du Vent, des Nègres provenans de leur commerce en Afrique. Vu pareillement, par Sa Majesté, l'arrêt rendu en son Conseil, le 26 octobre 1784, par lequel, indépendamment d'une gratification de Quarante livres par tonneau, de continence des Navires françois employés à la Traite des Noirs, & payable au départ, Elle avoit accordé une Prime additionnelle de Soixante livres, argent de France, pour chaque tête de Noirs provenans de ladite Traite, qui seroient introduits dans les
îles

îles de la Martinique & de la Guadeloupe, & de Cent livres pour ceux qui seroient transportés par lesdits Navires françois, tant à Cayenne & aux îles de Sainte-Lucie & de Tabago, que dans la partie du sud de Saint-Domingue, depuis le cap Tiburon jusqu'à la pointe de la Béate: Sa Majesté s'étant fait rendre compte de l'effet qu'ont produit ces deux arrêts pour l'approvisionnement de ses Colonies, Elle a reconnu que les vuides occasionnées par la guerre dans les ateliers destinés à la culture, étoient encore loin d'être réparés; que d'un côté les Etrangers paroissoient avoir été éloignés des Ports qui leur étoient ouverts, par la difficulté de remplir les conditions prescrites pour l'introduction de leurs Noirs, & par l'excès du droit imposé à leur entrée; en sorte qu'ils n'en ont importé qu'un très-petit nombre à la Martinique & à la Guadeloupe, & qu'ils n'en ont amené aucun à Sainte-Lucie & à Tabago; que d'un autre côté les expéditions Françoises pour la traite des Noirs, suffisant à peine à l'approvisionnement des parties du nord & de l'ouest de Saint-Domingue, les Négocians malgré l'appât d'une double Prime, ont négligé les îles du Vent, où ils ont introduit encore moins de Noirs que les Etrangers eux mêmes; que la partie du sud de Saint-Domingue a été, par les mêmes motifs, presque abandonnée & que les Noirs qu'on y a transportés, loin de fournir de

nouvelles ressources pour l'immense augmentation de culture dont cette partie est susceptible, ont à peine suffi au remplacement de ceux que les maladies ou la desertion enlèvent annuellement aux habitations. Dans ces circonstances. Sa Majesté a jugé que l'intérêt général de ses Etats, tant en Europe qu'en Amérique, ayant exigé qu'Elle dérogeât, pour quelque temps & dans certains lieux, aux loix prohibitives qui interdisent aux Etrangers le commerce des Noirs dans ses Colonies, il falloit, pour rendre cette dérogation utile, prendre des mesures convenables pour que les Etrangers admis à contribuer à l'approvisionnement des îles du Vent, n'en soient pas détournés par des conditions trop sévères, & pour que les Armateurs François, à la faveur des nouveaux encouragemens, puissent soutenir cette concurrence & multiplier leurs spéculations, en prescrivant néanmoins les précautions nécessaires pour qu'il ne soit pas abusé de ces faveurs. A quoi voulant pourvoir: Oûi le rapport, LE ROI ETANT EN SON CONSEIL, Sa Majesté a ordonné & ordonne ce qui suit :

ARTICLE PREMIER.

A compter du jour de la publication du présent arrêt, & jusqu'au 1.^{er} Août 1789, les Bâtimens étrangers du port de soixante tonneaux & au-dessus, seront admis dans les Ports d'entrepôt seulement, des îles de la Martinique, de la Guadeloupe,

loupe, de Sainte-Lucie & de Tabago, avec les Noirs dont ils seront chargés, en quelque nombre que ce soit, & en quelque lieu que les chargemens aient été faits, pour être lesdits Noirs vendus dans lesdits ports d'entrepôt, de la même manière que les autres objets d'approvisionnement dont l'introduction est permise par l'arrêt du 30 août 1784.

I I.

IL ne sera perçu pour tous droits quelconques à l'entrée, dans lesdits Ports d'entrepôt, que Trente livres, argent de France, par chaque tête de Noirs, apportés par lesdits Bâtimens étrangers aux îles de la Martinique & de la Guadeloupe, & Six livres seulement sur ceux qui seront apportés à Sainte-Lucie & à Tabago.

I I I.

LES Armateurs françois, soit du royaume, soit des Îles & Colonies françoises, qui voudront concourir à l'importation des Noirs étrangers dans lesdits Ports d'entrepôt des quatre îles du Vent, seront soumis aux mêmes précautions, formalités & visites que les Armateurs étrangers; & en cas de contravention, ils subiront, comme eux, les peines portées par l'article X de l'arrêt du 30 août 1784; mais ils ne seront tenus d'acquitter que Trois livres pour tous droits par tête de Noirs, dans les quatre Îles susnommées.

I V.

IV,

Le produit des droits établis par les deux articles précédens, sur les Noirs étrangers, sera versé dans la caisse de la Martinique, pour être appliqué au paiement d'une Prime de Cent soixante livres, que Sa Majesté accorde aux Armateurs des bâtimens Négriers du commerce de France, pour chaque tête de Nègres, Nègresses, Négrillons & Négrittes, provenant de la Traite françoise, qu'ils introduiront dans lesdites îles du Vent; laquelle Prime sera payée à la Martinique, sur les certificats, tant des Officiers de l'Amirauté & du Receveur du domaine d'Occident, du Port où le débarquement aura eulieu, que des Commissaires du commerce, visés par l'Intendant ou l'Ordonnateur. Dans le cas ou, d'après l'arrêté qui sera fait chaque année, au 31 Juillet, par l'Intendant de la Martinique, du produit des droits perçus dans lesdites îles sur les Noirs de Traite étrangère, ce produit ne pourroit pas suffire au paiement des différentes Primes acquises aux Armateurs françois, il en sera fait une répartition proportionnelle entre les divers Bâtimens qui auront acquis la Prime, & le déficit pour chacun d'eux sera acquitté, à leur retour dans les ports de France, par les Receveurs des Fermes dans lesdits Ports, sur la représentation des certificats pareils à ceux ci-dessus prescrits, & visés par l'Intendant de la Martinique, qui énonceront la quotité du déficit.

V,

V.

Av moyen de la Prime ci-dessus, Sa Majesté supprime celle de Cent livres & de Soixante livres, qu'Elle avait accordée par l'article III de l'arrêt du 26 octobre 1784, aux Négocians françois, pour chaque tête de Nègres qu'ils introduiroient dans les îles du Vent & à Cayenne ; & Sa Majesté rend communes à cette dernière Isle, les dispositions des articles précédens, qui sont relatives à Sainte-Lucie & à Tobago, pour l'importation des Noirs, provenant tant de la Traite françoise que de la Traite étrangère.

VI.

VEUT Sa Majesté qu'il soit payé aux Bâtimens françois, qui apporteront & vendront au port des Cayes seulement, pour l'approvisionnement de la partie du sud de Saint-Domingue, des Noirs provenans de leur commerce direct sur les côtes d'Afrique, une Prime de Deux cents livres par tête de Noirs, au lieu de celle de Cent livres, fixée par l'article III. de l'arrêt du 26 octobre 1784.

VII.

POUR pouvoir jouir du bénéfice de cette Prime, les Capitaines desdits Bâtimens, à mesure qu'ils procéderont à la vente desdits Noirs, les feront étamper lisiblement, dans la partie supérieure du bras gauche, de la lettre S, surmontée de deux points : sera ladite étampe reconnue sur chaque Noir, par le Directeur du bureau de l'Entrepôt,

à qui lesdits Noirs seront représentés, lors de la livraison ; ainsi que l'état nominatif d'iceux, signé, tant du Capitaine que de l'acheteur, avec déclaration du nom & domicile de l'habitant, & de la situation de l'habitation, dans la partie du Sud, pour le service desquels ils auront été vendus. Le Directeur de l'Entrepôt transcrira lesdites déclarations sur un registre particulier à ce destiné, & les remettra ensuite au Capitaine, revêtues de son certificat de vérification d'étampe & d'enregistrement ; tous les trois mois, il en dressera un relevé sommaire, pour être adressé par les Gouverneur-lieutenant-general & Intendant, au Secrétaire d'Etat ayant le département de la Marine & des Colonies. Indépendamment des formalités prescrites par l'arrêt du 26 octobre 1784, lesdits Capitaines seront tenus de faire viser par les représentans aux Cayes desdits Gouverneur général & Intendant & de rapporter, 1^o les susdits certificats du Directeur de l'Entrepôt ; 2^o l'expédition primitive qu'ils auront prise en France, énonciative du port & jauge de leurs Navires, & de l'époque de leur départ ; 3^o l'état de leur cargaison à l'arrivée aux Cayes, & le procès-verbal de la visite qui en aura été faite, conformément aux Ordonnances.

VIII.

DEFEND Sa Majesté à tout habitant des parties de l'ouest & du nord à Saint-Domingue, d'ache-
ter

ter ou faire acheter par personnes interposées, même d'échanger & faire transporter, sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, tant que la Prime accordée par l'article VI aura lieu, aux Noirs marqués de l'étampe, & provenans des importations qui se feront dans ledit port des Cayes, à peine de confiscation, & de trois mille livres tournois d'amende contre chaque contrevenant, dont moitié applicable au profit du dénonciateur ; enjoint aux Officiers des Etats-majors & des Milices, Officers d'administration & de justice d'y veiller soigneusement, & aux Gouverneur-lieutenant-général & Intendant, d'y tenir sévèrement la main.

IX.

ORDONNE Sa Majesté, que la Déclaration du 12 octobre 1739, qui prohibe le transport des Noirs des îles du Vent à Saint-Domingue, & réciproquement, continuera d'être exécutée selon sa forme & teneur, sauf néanmoins les permissions particulières que Sa Majesté pourra accorder aux Propriétaires d'habitations situées aux îles du Vent & sous le Vent, pour le transport des Noirs qu'ils auroient intérêt de faire passer de l'une sur l'autre ; lesquelles permissions ne seront accordées que sur l'avis des Administrateurs de la Colonie d'où les Noirs seront tirés, & moyennant les formalités & précautions nécessaires.

X.

Sa MAJESTÉ ayant égard à la position particulière où se trouve l'île de Saint-Lucie, & voulant encourager le rétablissement des Sucreries que le malheur des temps a fait abandonner, permet aux habitans de ladite île d'exporter à l'Etranger, jusqu'au terme fixé par l'article 1.^{er} par des Bâtimens françois ou étrangers qui seront expédiés du Port d'entrepôt seulement, les Sucres bruts du crû de ladite île, à l'exclusion de tous autres, en acquittant, avant le départ, la totalité du droit du domaine d'Occident, & accessoires, en faisant leur déclaration du Port à la destination duquel lesdits Sucres bruts seront expédiés, & en remplissant les formalités prescrites par l'arrêt du 30 août 1784, pour les exportations à l'Etranger, des autres articles permis par ledit arrêt.

XI.

SERONT au surplus les arrêts du Conseil des 28 juin 1783, 30 août & 26 octobre 1784, ainsi que tous les Règlemens concernant les prohibitions, exécutés selon leur forme & teneur, en tout ce qui ne sera pas contraire aux dispositions du présent arrêt, sur lequel toutes Lettres nécessaires seront expédiées.

MANDE Sa Majesté à Mons. le Duc de Penthièvre, Amiral de France, de tenir la main à l'exécution du présent arrêt, en ce qui concerne les droits de sa charge.

MANDE

MANDE & enjoint aux Gouverneurs, Commandans, Intendants & Ordonnateurs des Iles du Vent & sous le Vent de l'Amérique; & tous autres Officiers qu'il appartiendra, de tenir, chacun en ce qui les concerne, la main à l'exécution du dit arrêt, lequel sera enregistré aux greffes des Conseils supérieurs, lû, publié & affiché par-tout où besoin sera.

FAIT au Conseil d'Etat du Roi, Sa Majesté y étant, tenu à Versailles le dixième jour de septembre mil sept cent quatre-vingt-six. Signé
LE M.^{AL.} DE CASTRIES.

LE DUC DE PENTHIEVE,

Amiral de France, Gouverneur & Lieutenant général pour le Roi, en sa province de Bretagne.

VU l'arrêt du Conseil d'Etat du Roi, ci-dessus & des autres parts, à nous adressé : MANDONS à tous ceux sur qui notre pouvoirs s'étend, de l'exécuter & faire exécuter, chacun en droit soi, suivant sa forme & teneur; & ordonnons aux Officiers des Amirautés de le faire enregistrer aux greffes de leurs Sièges, lire, publier & afficher par-tout où besoin sera.

FAIT à Paris le vingt-cinq septembre mil sept cent quatre-vingt-six. Signé L. J. M. DE BOURBON. Et plus bas, Par Son Altesse Sérénissime. Signé PERIER.

Translation

*Translation of his Catholic Majesty's EDICT, of
 SCHEDULE, by which he grants Liberty for
 the Commerce of Negroes with the Islands of
 Cuba, St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and the Pro-
 vince of Caracas, to Spaniards as well as Stran-
 gers, under the following Regulations and Con-
 ditions, viz.*

I THE KING, CHARLES the Fourth, in or-
 der to facilitate to all my beloved subjects,
 by every means possible, the great advanta-
 ges which the encouragement of agriculture
 ought to produce, have directed that proper exa-
 minations may be made into the various propo-
 sitions that have been made at fundry times, for
 the importation of Negroes into the islands of
 Cuba, St. Domingo, Porto Rico, and province
 of Caracas, in order to supply the present great
 necessity; without which supply they cannot pro-
 per, flourish, or produce to the state the immense
 riches which their climate, and the fertility of
 their lands, offer them; and after treating this
 weighty matter with the reflection it deserves,
 I have determined, for the present, that this com-
 merce should be carried on under the following
 regulations, to wit:

I. Any of my subjects residing in Spain, or
 the Indies, may pass in any vessel of their own,
 or freighted for their account, to buy Negroes,
 wheresoever they may be found for sale, provided
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they carry money and produce necessary for this business; and their importations into the above mentioned islands, and province of Caracas, shall be free from all manner of contributions or imposts; but with the express prohibition, that the vessels which may go out of the said colonies to carry on this commerce, shall not introduce any other merchandize, under confiscation of such vessels, with their cargoes, besides being subject to the other penal laws of this kingdom, enacted against smugglers and contrabandists; with the condition, however, that, by producing a certificate of the administrator or officer of the royal revenue, where Negroes may be imported, they must be restored returned to them the value of the royal duties or imposts.

II. In order to encourage the aforesaid commerce to those that may sail from the ports of this peninsula, and that they may not go with empty vessels, it is permitted to them to carry produce and merchandize, and to go directly to the places where they are to procure said negroes, in order to proceed on with them, and with such produce and merchandize, to the ports whereof the entrance is permitted; or, going with the fruits or merchandize to these ports, it is permitted to sail from them to carry on the commerce of negroes, and to return to the very same places of their departure; and in case of their not being

able to sell them there, it shall be free to them, to convey them to any other of the qualified ports for their importation.

III. It shall be permitted to the strangers, for the precise time of two years only (to be reckoned from the publication, in America, of this my royal schedule) to convey negroes to the ports qualified, with the self same expressed prohibition to carry in their vessels any other merchandize, under the same penalties that the Spaniards are subject to. And I hereby make null and void, for this case alone, the laws of the Indies, which forbid the importation and commerce of strangers into the ports of my dominions there, inasmuch as they are to enjoy the same franchises, or exemption of duty, on the importation of negroes, as the Spaniards do; but they shall pay the established duties for the exportation of plate or silver, and produce that may arise from the sale.

IV. The Spaniards, and likewise the strangers, who, during the term of two years, should carry Negroes to the within expressed islands, and province of Caracas, to trade with them, may sell them freely, at the prices on which they agree with the buyers, so as that the royal officers shall not be able to lay on them any fixed price; nor in this matter shall they have any other interference than to take care that all contraband trade shall be prevented,

prevented, and to be vigilant in examining if the negroes be of a good breed and quality.

V. The royal officers shall not be accountable for the negroes that may arrive at the qualified ports, nor shall they be obliged to pay for them with ready money, in order to re-sell them afterwards to those who may have need of them, but they are to remain for the proper account and risque of those who may convey or bring them, or cause them to be conveyed or brought for sale, when they can in the same manner, exactly, as if they were any other kind of merchandize.

VI. The negroes so imported must be of a good breed and in healthy condition, observing that at least one third part thereof shall be females, the other two thirds thereof be males, and the importation as well as sale of such as may be useless, contagious, or infected with habitual infirmities, shall not be permitted, with this obligation, that those who should bring any of this description, shall export them again.

VII. The Royal Treasury will pay a bounty of four hard dollars (or 17s. English) a head, granted by his Majesty, for all and every negro, whether male or female, if of a good quality, that the Spaniards themselves may import into the aforesaid ports, and on their own accounts, in real Spanish vessels, hoping thereby to encourage native Spaniards in Old Spain to carry on this commerce

with the greater spirit, and thereby ensure an abundance of slaves on moderate terms.

VIII. As the principal object I have in view for the granting liberties, exemptions, and bounties in this trade, is thereby to encourage and increase agriculture, I hereby declare that for every negro not designed for it, and for the husbandry, mills, and other occupations of the lands, but only for the domestic use and service of the inhabitants of cities, towns, villages, &c. must pay to the Royal Treasury, the yearly capitation or sum of two hard dollars (8s. 6d. English) per head; to commence from the day of the publication of this my royal schedule, in order thereby to moderate all luxury and excess, as well as contribute to pay the gratifications which the Royal Treasury is to satisfy, agreeable to what is expressed in the preceding article.

IX. The ports of the islands and provinces already mentioned, where the importation of negroes shall have place, are as following :

In Hispaniola,	In St. Domingo,
Porto Rico,	Porto Rico,
The Province of Caracas,	Porto Cavallo,
The Island of Cuba,	The Havana.

All the other parts of Cuba remain qualified by the execution of said commerce by the Spaniards alone, but to the total exclusion of all strangers.

XI. The

X. The national vessels, designed for this commerce, ought to be of a moderate size, in order that they may be the more easily known; and the foreign vessels shall not exceed 300 tons each, nor shall they be permitted to enter any of the ports not qualified, and as before mentioned. As soon as national vessels, as well as foreign vessels, come to an anchor, they are to be registered, in which work shall assist, as chief, some person dignified and known for his zeal, disinterestedness, patriotic spirit, and inclination, to proceed with exactness and earnestness; and his election is to be made by my secretary of state, and dispatch of war and hacienda of Indies, without any other incumbrance or obligation than this, and that of being vigilant and examining the good quality of the negroes that may be imported; the named person shall take care that their water casks be emptied, putting in a boat the empty casks, and on the decks the barrels of provisions and the spare apparel, that all and every thing may be examined to entire satisfaction; for under no pretext whatever shall be conveyed in said vessel any other thing or things than provisions, water, apparel, spare sails, masts and rigging, or such utensils as are absolutely necessary for navigation, and corresponding to the size of the ship and vessel, under pain of confiscation of the ship and cargo, together with the negroes on board; but from this rule shall be excepted the vessels that
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may sail from the qualified ports of Spain, which may carry merchandize and produce as is before specified in the 2d. article of this edict, and are to be treated as any other ship in the commerce.

XI. With regard to foreign vessels, that may carry negroes into the qualified ports before mentioned, they shall not be detained in the said ports longer than the time absolutely necessary for the execution of this business, for the buyers shall pay for the slaves when delivered, or at least payment shall be made in the space of, or not exceeding 24 hours after such delivery; and all foreigners are hereby prohibited entering or going into the interior parts of the country; nor shall any foreigner employ, as an agent or, an attorney, any other person but a Spaniard resident in the country, whereby they shall be subject to all the laws and regulations issued by the governors and chiefs of the royal hacienda, in order thereby to prevent frauds in the ships; and for the due compliance hereof, the person that may be named shall take into consideration the particular inspection he is engaged with in this commerce.

XII. Lastly, As my royal will is to procure to all my subjects the greatest advantage in this commerce, and to augment the number of planters in my colonies of America, as being absolutely necessary for the prosperity of the inhabitants, and increase of my royal revenue—I hereby enjoin, in
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the strongest manner, to all the persons who shall be named to interfere in this branch, and to the governors and intendants, that they not only concur with the regulations that their zeal may dictate to them, in order to prevent that the abuse of these bounties should oblige me to recall them, but also that they should lay before me and represent all that experience may make appear to them to be absolutely necessary for the greater benefit and advantage of my subjects, and consequently the prosperity and increase of commerce: And that the specified grants and indulgencies in the twelve foregoing articles may be duly complied with, I do hereby annul and make void all the laws, edicts, or schedules and royal orders, that may be contrary to them; and I order my supreme council of the Indies, vice kings, presidents, governors, intendants, magistrates, ministers of my royal hacienda or revenue, and all the other tribunals to whom it may appertain, that they comply, cause to be complied with, observe and well execute, all that is specified in this my royal schedule.

Done in Madrid the 28th day of February, 1789.

(Signed) I THE KING.

(Underneath signed) DON ANTO. VALDES.

This is a copy of the original. (Signed) VALDES.

F I N I S.









